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Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-221
Friday
17 November 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-221 *17 November 1989*

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Foreign Affairs Experts View International Events

AU0911171089 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 5 Nov 89 p 4

["Discussion in the Editorial Office on the Events of the Week—Our Guests: Vladimir Prela, Specialist in International Relations, and Harillaq Kekezi, Head of Department in the Institute for the Study of International Relations"—date not given]

[Text]

On the Visit of Our Foreign Minister to Spain

V. Prela: In our country's diplomatic activity this week, we can single out the visit of our foreign minister Reis Malile to Spain. This was the first visit of this kind to this Mediterranean country. It was based on the efforts of both our countries for further bilateral cooperation in fields of mutual interest.

H. Kekezi: The welcome extended to our delegation was not confined simply to protocol. It testified to the fact that our country is scoring further successes in the field of foreign policy, and its authority in the world has risen. The speeches exchanged between our foreign minister and King Juan Carlos of Spain underlined the traditional friendship between the Albanian and Spanish peoples. Even the documents compiled in an album showing our historical ties since the time of Skenderbeg and Alfonso V assumed a topical importance. They reinforced the fact that opportunities exist for stronger and more extensive ties among Mediterranean peoples in the interests of peace and security.

V. Prela: Our foreign minister's visit to Spain must be considered in the context of the efforts being made to create a climate of cooperation, peace, and stability on our continent. However, the regional aspect must be emphasized here. Such visits, which are based on a desire for understanding, the development of mutual relations, and a climate of peace, exert a positive influence in the Mediterranean region, which has not a few problems.

On Recent Developments in the Balkans

H. Kekezi: There have been events in the Balkans this week marking further steps toward implementing the protocol on cooperation in various fields concluded at the meeting of Balkan deputy foreign ministers in Tirana in January this year. One of these developments was the meeting of economic experts in recent days in Bucharest. This followed the meeting of the Balkan economic ministers which decided a platform and indicated ways and opportunities to expand economic cooperation among the countries of our region. The experts dealt with more specific aspects and discussed those proposals which will be of mutual interest and will create favorable opportunities for the expansion of economic and trade links.

V. Prela: These activities reflect today's reality in the Balkans. A tradition of inter-Balkan meetings in various fields is now taking shape. These meetings broach problems of interest to Balkan countries and peoples and cultivate the necessary atmosphere to carry forward this process that began 2 years ago. The recent Turkish-Bulgarian meeting in Kuwait is part of this framework. These talks, although they led to no concrete agreement, opened the way to further dialogue, and thus to positive prospects for inter-Balkan relations.

However, there are many factors in the Balkans that show that not everything is proceeding smoothly, and that still more needs to be done in order to make a reality of the declarations that have been made and to solve the past and present problems of the Balkans. The present situation in Yugoslavia shows this. The situation in Kosovo has deteriorated further with the start of the political trial of the former leader Azem Vlasi. Such affairs do not ease the situation, but only make it more tense, which exerts a negative influence on the political climate in the Balkans.

H. Kekezi: As for the Turkish-Bulgarian meeting, this is a first step of particular importance. Our country's view is that, in the field of inter-Balkan relations, apart from the path of multilateral cooperation, there is also a need to solve bilaterally problems of a bilateral nature. If the good will and political wisdom to solve such problems exists, an opportunity is created to alleviate these negative factors which in one way or another affect the entire Balkan atmosphere. Events in Yugoslavia are running counter to such positive steps. Not only is no progress being made toward democratizing interethnic relations in the country and still less toward pacifying the situation in Kosovo, but tension is being fueled.

On the Bush-Gorbachev Meeting

V. Prela: It was officially announced this week that a meeting between Bush and Gorbachev will be held in December. It should be stressed that this meeting will take place on a ship in the Mediterranean Sea. Why precisely in the Mediterranean? This meeting, in such a form, has propaganda implications. However, the fact that it is being held in the Mediterranean reminds one of a range of problems in the area. It reminds one of the superpowers' weaponry in the Mediterranean, the presence of foreign military bases, the Middle East conflict which has continued for several decades, and the unequal economic situations of the countries to the north of the Mediterranean compared to those to the south, and so forth. The Bush-Gorbachev talks will be wide-ranging, but the important changes taking place in the East European bloc will be at the center of them. It is rightly being said that the map of the old continent is changing. In a statement to the press, President Bush stressed that the subject of the talks with Gorbachev will be precisely these changes and the prospects for perestroyka in the Soviet Union. He even underlined that "In the pace of change in East Europe, I do not want to lose 'anything'." Current developments in the Soviet Union and its East European allies imply that the superpowers will discuss the problems resulting from this process, but

at the same time will need to dot a few "i"s in the report on the relations between themselves and on international relations in general. To whatever extent propaganda may depict international relations as growing more democratic and the protectorate of the superpowers as slipping away, it is a fact that this meeting is being held as a sign of the bipolarity of the United States and the Soviet Union. This aspect cannot be overlooked, and means that the activity of the two superpowers must be closely studied.

H. Kekezi: In connection with this meeting, a prominent question is: Why is it being held now? It is not being held simply because Gorbachev totaled up five meetings with Reagan in different countries, and he has not yet met Bush, who has been almost 1 year in the White House. In fact, a summit meeting with a definite agenda had been planned for next year. While now an earlier meeting has been called without an agenda. It was sought by Gorbachev, but was also welcomed by Bush. This is for several reasons.

The Soviet Union and the countries of East Europe are in the middle of carrying out a deeply reformist process in a state of opportunistic chaos which exerts a special influence on today's international relations. In this time of rapid changes in East-West relations as well, coordination between the superpowers is being sought. Moreover, the Soviet Union and the countries of East Europe find themselves in a highly critical phase regarding their economic situation. The West is hastening to their aid in solving their acute problems because these countries have now achieved the reforms which the West wanted in the political field. The visit of the Polish prime minister, Mazowiecki, to Italy, the tour of Hungarian Minister of State Imre Poszgay to Britain, Canada, and the United States, and Gorbachev's visit to Italy, his fourth visit to a major Western European country, should also be seen in this context. The Bush-Gorbachev meeting is therefore being held with the aim of seeing how these processes in the East can be supported and furthered. Regional problems will also be a focus of attention, particularly the Middle East, where there are signs that the Soviet Union is changing its position and drawing closer to the United States' view.

V. Prela: The international bourgeoisie has by now been convinced that the reform processes toward consolidating a capitalist market economy in the Soviet Union and other countries of East Europe are irreversible. However, a phenomenon is occurring in the Soviet Union that was recently suspected, but not seriously believed. This concerns the deep gulf between glasnost and perestroyka, between what is said and what is done. Glasnost idealizes the prospects in front of Soviet society, supports perestroyka, and arouses euphoria about it. However, after 5 years this glasnost has willy-nilly become divorced from perestroyka, and is publishing facts that indicate the prospect of its spectacular failure.

The West is hastening to help the Soviet Union and its East European allies out of fear that their transition to the lines of capitalism will fail. One can now see faster coordination in the West to support this process with a "Marshall Plan," as Italian Foreign Minister De Michelis called the Western aid. The Western program is now assuming the shape of a coordinated United States-Western Europe strategy. This not only includes psychological shock treatment that may slightly inflame the tense atmosphere in the countries of the East, but also the therapy of economic rescue, postponing debt settlement dates and releasing a flood of Western capital.

V. Prela: The breach between glasnost and perestroyka within the Soviet Union has also paved the way for a breakdown of Gorbachev's "new political thinking." Bearing in mind that a representative of "Solidarity," a political ally of the West, has become prime minister in Poland, the persistent voices in Hungary for neutrality outside the Warsaw Pact, and the results of the recent meeting of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact in Poland discussing the political and military character of this bloc, and so forth, it is understandable that the United States is sounding out the Soviet Union's position in its relations with its East European allies and seeing how far its plans go in relation to Europe and relations with the United States.

Politburo Reshuffled at BCP CC Plenum

AU1611193689 Sofia BTA in English
2240 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 16 (BTA)—A plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee was held at the Georgi Kirkov Hall of the Party Building in Sofia today. Some current and organizational questions were discussed. Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, submitted a well-founded proposal to the Politburo on urgent cadre changes in the composition of leading party organs.

Comrade Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, explained the proposal on the need, at this stage, for the responsibilities of the BCP Central Committee general secretary to be combined with those of the State Council Chairman of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and that the proposal be submitted for discussion at the National Assembly on behalf of the BCP Parliamentary Group.

Comrade Georgi Atanasov, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, expressed his views on structural and personnel changes at the Council of Ministers, which he intends to submit for discussion and a decision at the forthcoming National Assembly session.

The members and candidate members of the BCP Central Committee who spoke with an analytical and critical approach, with a feeling of concern and a sense of responsibility, expressed their stands on the topical issues discussed and on the proposals submitted.

They touched upon some of the most crucial problems which the party, the state, and our entire society are facing today.

Frankly and openly, they described how the people greeted with joy and enthusiasm the cardinal change carried out at the 10 November Plenum of the BCP Central Committee. It was pointed out that the new political course toward real restructuring is the objective prerequsite for overcoming the accumulated dissatsifaction and tension among a major part of our society.

The resolve was expressed to unrelentingly follow the line of the renewal of socialism in our society, which is a turning point, on the basis of democratization, glasnost, and the responsibility of everyone for the destinies of Bulgaria.

All statements stressed the support for the proposals made by the Politburo on cadre and other changes without which we could not easily advance.

The following comrades took the floor: Nikolay Zhishev, Khristo Khristov, Slavcho Trunski, Nacho Papazov, Niko Yakhiel, Georgi Tanev, Zhivko Zhivkov, Kiril Zarev, Angel Balevski, Georgi Milushev, Vasil Mruchkov, Pavel Matev, Konstantin Atanasov, Petur Balevski, Vladimir Bonev, Khristo Dobrev, Krustyu Trichkov, Khristo Orlovski, Venelin Kotsev, Ivan Prumov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Valadimir Kalaydzhiev, Elena Lagadinova, Radoslav Radev, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Karaulanov, Ignat Radenkov, Yordan Yotov, and Stanko Todorov.

At the end, Petur Mladenov, BCP Central Committee general secretary, delivered a short address.

The plenum adopted the following decisions:

Comrades Grisha Filipov, Milko Balev, and Dimitur Stoyanov are relieved of their posts as members of the Politburo and removed from the Central Committee. They will be pensioned. The Central Committee proposes to the National Assembly to relieve them as members of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Comrade Petko Danchev is relieved from the Politburo and removed from the Central Committee; Comrade Stoyan Ovcharov is relieved of his post as candidate member of the Politburo. Comrades Vasil Tsanov and Emil Khristov are relieved of their posts as secretaries of the BCP Central Committee; they will be pensioned.

Comrades Vladimir Zhivkov, Nikola Stefanov, and Khristo Maleev are being removed from the Central Committee for reasons of expediency.

The decisions of July and December 1988 on removing Comrades Stoyan Mikhaylov and Svetlin Rusev from the Central Committee are rescinded. Their membership in the BCP Central Committee is restored.

The following candidate members of the BCP Central Committee are promoted to full membership: Vasil Nedev, general director of the Matalokeramika company in Sofia; Georgi Pirinski, deputy minister of foreign economic relations; Gospodin Yordanov, brigade leader of the Kozloduy nuclear power plant energy-assembling brigade; Gichka Slavova, chairman of the Nikolaevska village collective farm in Varna Oblast; and Rumen Serbezov, chief adviser at the Council of Ministers. Comrade Nacho Papazov, presently chairman of the BCP Central Control Auditing Committe, is being coopted as member of the BCP Central Committee.

Comrades Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, and Nacho Papazov, chairman of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, are elected as full members of the Politburo and it is proposed to the National Assembly to elect the latter as members of the State Council.

Comrades Mincho Yovchev, first secretary of the BCP Oblast Committee in Khaskovo, and Panteley Pachov, first secretary of the Plovdiv Oblast BCP Committee, are elected as members of the BCP Central Committee Politburo.

Comrade Yordan Yotov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, is relieved from his post as Central Committee secretary.

Comrades Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and Ivan Stanev, brigade leader of the Kremikovtsi plant assembly brigade, are elected candidate members of the BCP Central Committee Politburo.

Comrade Prodan Stoyanov, chief of the BCP Central Committee administrative department, is elected as secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

The parliamentary group of the BCP at the National Assembly is urged to propose Comrade Petur Mladenov, BCP Central Committee general secretary, as chairman of the State Council at the forthcoming National Assembly session.

[The parliamentary group of the BCP] suggests that the National Assembly relieve Mr Yaroslav Radev of his responsibilities as vice president of the State Council, chairman of the Legislative Council with the State Council, and chairman of the National Assembly Standing Committee on Legislative Affairs;

Mr Andrey Bundzhulov as member of the State Council. [Sentence as received]

Approves the motion of the chairman of the Council of Ministers for structural and personal changes in the government and in its bodies which will be submitted for consideration at the National Assembly.

Committee Resolution

AU1711100889 Sofia BTA in English
0816 GMT 17 Nov 89

["Resolution of the Plenum of the BCP Central Committee"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 17, (BTA)—Following is the text of the resolution which the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] adopted at its plenum yesterday

"The Central Committee of the BCP,

I.

"1. Relieves of their duties as Politburo members and secretaries of the CC of the BCP and expels from the Central Committee Mr Grisha Filipov, Mr Milko Balev and Mr Dimitur Stoyanov who will retire on pension and suggests that the national assembly relieve them of their responsibilities as members of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

"2. Relieves Mr Petko Danchev of his duties as alternate member of the Politburo and expels him from the Central Committee.

"3. Relives Mr Stoyan Ovcharov of his duties as alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP.

"4. Relieves of their duties as secretaries of the BCP Central Committee Mr Vasil Tsanov and Mr Emil Khristov who will retire on pension.

"5. Expels from the BCP Central Committee on grounds of expedience Mr Vladimir Zhivkov, Mr Nikola Stefanov and Mr Khristo Maleev.

"6. Repeals its July and December 1988 resolutions on the expulsion from the CC of the BCP of Mr Stoyan Mikhaylov and of Mr Svetlin Rusev and reinstates them in their membership of the party's Central Committee.

"7. Promotes the following alternate members to full Central Committee membership: Mr Vasil Nedev, general manager of the Metaloceramica company in Sofia; Mr Georgi Pirinski, deputy minister of foreign economic relations; Mr Gospodin Yordanov, foreman of a power line workteam at the nuclear power generation combined works in Kozlodoy; Ms Dichka Slavova, president of the collective farm in the village of Nikolaevska, Varna region; and Mr Rumen Serbezov, senior adviser at the Council of Ministers.

"8. Co-opts as member of the BCP Central Committee Mr Nacho Papazov, currently chairman of the BCP Central Control and Auditing Commission.

"9. Elects Mr Andrey Lukanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, and Mr Nacho Papazov, chairman of the BCP Central Control and Auditing Commission, as Politburo members and secretaries of the BCP Central Committee and suggests that the national assembly elect them members of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

"10. Elects Mr Panteley Pachov, first secretary of the BCP regional committee in Plovdiv, and Mr Mincho Yovchev, first secretary of the BCP regional committee in Khaskovo, as members of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP.

"11. Relieves Mr Yordan Yotov, Politburo member of the CC of the BCP, of his duties as Central Committee secretary.

"12. Elects Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP, and Mr Ivan Stanev, foreman of a builders workteam at the Kremikovtsi construction administration, as alternate members of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP.

"13. Elects Mr Prodan Stoyanov, head of the secretaral department of the CC of the BCp, as secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

II.

"1. At the forthcoming session of the national assembly, the BCP parliamentary group will nominate Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP, for president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

"2. Suggests that the national assembly relieve:

Mr Yaroslav Radev of his responsibilities as vice president of the State Council, chairman of the legislation council with the State Council and chairman of the national assembly standing committee on legislative affairs;

Mr Andrey Bundzhulov as member of the State Council.

III.

"Approves of the motion of the chairman of the Council of Ministers for structural and personnel changes in the government and in its bodies which will be submitted for consideration at the national assembly."

Readers Support BCP CC Plenum Decisions

AU1611134589

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 15 November on page 2 carries several readers letters, totaling 2,000 words, which express total support for the decisions adopted by the 10 November plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP].

In a 300-word letter from Kiril Simonski, general manager of the company "Velbuzhd" of Kyustendil, entitled "It Is Passivity That Is Robbing Us; It Is Improper!," it is pointed out that "the issue of personal responsibility" must be placed at the center of the public's attention. Simonski criticizes the criteria applied in appointing cadres and stresses that "origin" and "other similar criteria, which concealed personal or group preference," have been used in the past to appoint cadres, while "professional qualities" have been neglected.

A 300-word letter from journalist Vasil Stoilov, entitled "Silence Is Not Always Golden" deals with the issue of the "fear that has engulfed many of us." He points out that "unfortunately, until now silence has always paid off. People who knew how to keep silent were promoted to higher echelons of the hierarchy."

A 200-word letter from Khristo Panov, entitled "Time For Specific and Precise Answers," contains support for articles published after the BCP Central Committee 10 November plenum, such as Kosta Andreev's Article "Toward Renewal," carried by Sofia TRUD on 13 November and Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial "Reflection and Action" of 13 November. After stating his support for the Central Committee plenum decisions and the aforementioned articles, Panov adds:

"While the articles were brilliantly written, is not it time to say something more specific? We know much about the administrative-command system and the calamities it inflicted on society, but we are still afraid to name those who headed and supported this system. Is it not time to establish personal responsibility for their failures?"

Later Panov asks:

"How much longer will mediocre and corrupt persons remain in their leading posts only because they are relatives of leaders of the administrative-command system?"

While Todor Zhivkov is not mentioned by name in any of the letters, in his 200-word letter entitled "Collective, Glasnost, and Democratic Principles," P. Donev says: "For decades, willingly or unwillingly, a policy of overestimating or extolling the role of the first leader has been conducted. This instills passivity, fatalism, lack of confidence, and doubt in the collective mind and activity."

A 100-word letter from Yordan Yordanov, entitled "We Have the Opportunity of Correcting the Mistakes," says:

"I think that the truth has still not been spoken in our country from the most responsible rostrum. I mean the whole truth and not just a part of it. This is the reason for the lack of confidence and the ensuing alienation that continue. We will find it difficult to mobilize the working people for creative construction once they have been disillusioned and stripped of their faith by us communists."

Unions Endorse

AU1611123489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Nov 89 pp 1, 2

[Declaration issued by the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions—date and place not given]

[Text] At the present fateful time in our country, when the true renewal of socialism begins in Bulgaria, on behalf of the 4 million-strong trade union organization of the Bulgarian working people, the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions declares:

1. The decisions of the 10 November 1989 Plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee correspond to the interests and aspirations of the working people. They are being greeted everywhere as a long-expected change that releases our people's energy for overcoming the crisis phenomena in our society and attaining material and social prosperity for all.

The people are full of hope that the political principles that have been announced will be decisively applied with a sense of responsibility toward the people and through a dialogue with the people. They expect urgent and radical actions aimed at removing the administrative command system, truly and actively incorporating the people in restructuring, establishing glasnost, pluralism, and freedom of personality, and constructing a modern democratic and law-governed state.

2. The complex problems and negative tendencies in developing the economy that have accumulated—holding back the standard of living, worsening the market deficit, strengthening inflation processes, and

distorting social justice—have exacerbated social tension and asserted a critical mood and attitude among the people. Those issues must no longer be avoided and the truth must not be silenced.

We are convinced that the solution to the situation that has been created must be sought in our own forces and possibilities as a nation and state. We need wisdom, realism, and a broad and democratic analysis of new decisions.

Bulgaria has the historical chance to implement restructuring without experiencing sharp social shocks, that inevitably require a high price!

3. The Bulgarian Trade Unions adhere to real self-management and giving power to the labor collectives and municipalities.

We insist that there be unconditional respect and observance of the country's laws, an end to the vicious practice of ruling through decrees, instructions, and telexes, and an end to arbitrary bureaucratic willfulness, which confound economic activity and violate the prerogatives of the leadership, collectives, and organizations.

4. We realize that the socioeconomic situation, as it was created in recent years in the country, requires trade unions to assume as soon as possible their true responsibilities—to defend the labor rights and socioeconomic interests of the working people and the various social and professional strata.

The Bulgaria Trade Unions are prepared to publish in the near future their position on the vitally important issues of socioeconomic development and a new trade union platform, which corresponds to the vital needs and interests of the working people.

5. We are convinced that the Bulgarian Trade Unions can gain the confidence of the working people and become their support only if they profoundly renew and revive themselves and gain independence vis-a-vis the bureaucratic apparatus. We shall demonstrate proof of such a change already in the forthcoming reports and elections. The will and requirements of the trade union members will determine our working program. Their assessment will be the most important criteria in evaluating the trade union activity.

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The Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions appeals to the working people, the trade union members, and all trade union organs and organizations to demonstrate at this turning point this political moment, high civic consciousness, responsibility, and activity. Let us openly express everywhere our support of activating restructuring in our country and giving it a dynamic character!

Daily Editor on Hopes Raised by Plenum

AU1611225089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Nov 89 p 1

[Article by Radoslav Radev: "The Hope and Will of a People" under the rubric "Viewpoint"]

[Text] It is not only since yesterday that we have been working and living in this land, taking part in social life and giving of our strength and intelligence to ensure the prosperity of our families and the nation. However, during all this time there has never previously been such a strong display of popular enthusiasm and hope. We see it these days in the squares and streets, where people wish one another success during our difficult times. We feel this in the workplaces, in district meetings and conversations, and during intimate family evening gatherings. Readers are writing in and telephoning without interruption and are criticizing us because we are not adequately reflecting the mood brought on by the decisions of the November Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP].

Much must have accumulated in our hearts to make us now give such plain expression to our feelings and moods. Our correspondents report that on Friday evening, on Saturday, on Sunday, and right up to yesterday (and this will surely continue!), people have continued to comment on the plenum decisions as news of vital importance, and to greet one another on the new stage in revolutionary restructuring. We too, as we walk along the streets and meet with friends and acquaintances, cannot at first come to grips with this topic—how we are to advance further from this point, and what new things we can expect following the historic date of 10 November.

I write "historic" quite deliberately, for this plenum will remain in history as a plenum of great hopes, of a spring-like renewal of the party, the start of a new stage in implementing the revolutionary restructuring in our land. People have grown tired of reading the endless stream of speeches and documents unsupported by real deeds. People have grown tired of hearing that a breakthrough has not been made in such-and-such a place, that things have become stuck for almost 2 and ½ years, and that renewal is in a state of stagnation, while the specific names of those responsible are not mentioned. People have grown tired of seeing the discrepancy between the official statistical reports on plan fulfillment and the condition of the market. People have been amazed by the repressive actions for which no reasons were given and which complicate the situation and worsen public life. People have grown tired of writing against the cadre policy, in which friendship and kinship principles played a predominant part.

Yes, people grew tired of many things, and it is precisely because of the immense hope that a line has been drawn to close this period that they accept with such unanimity the election of the new secretary of the BCP Central

Committee, whose concluding speech inspired confidence, offered hope, and lifted up people's spirits and self-confidence.

Of course we cannot expect everything that the command-administrative system has caused to accumulate in our lives to be eliminated by a wave of a magic wand. Much work, consistent activity, and strictness will be needed, and the efforts of everyone will be required. Yet surely when man is possessed by faith, when he is in good spirits, when he sees resolute actions, will he not commit himself much more easily and willingly to the renewal of the processes in Bulgaria? The will of the people is being concentrated in a decisive direction, and no one should delude himself that it is possible to stop or turn back.

The 1st days following the plenum have already confirmed the determination of the leadership. The restoration of the uninterrupted party membership of 11 persons, including our own colleague Georgi Tambuev (who formerly was a member of the editorial collegium and who has been reappointed from this day) is good news, an act of justice and wisdom.

The question perhaps most frequently asked at the moment concerns the cadres. What changes are imperative? The next few days are likely to give us the answer. As has been announced, a new plenum is imminent, and it will examine current issues and organizational matters. Everyone knows that the new course of policy also requires new people....

It is no wonder that years from now our successors will speak of these days as the November spring in the development of the BCP and the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

TRUD Poll Supports Election of Mladenov

AU1611144689 Sofia BTA in English
1404 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 16 (BTA)—The election of a new secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] is taken as a hope for a way out of the crisis situation of the Bulgarian society, according to a survey of opinions made by the opinion poll team at the research institute on trade union issues. The data of the research is published in TRUD.

The survey has not a representative character. The inquiry has been made on November 13 and 14 on 206 people of various social groups, typologically chosen according to sex, age and profession. The aim has been to receive information about the people's attitude regarding the plenum of the CC of the BCP on November 10. According the viewers [as received], the replies give an idea about the social opinion on three topics: The crisis situation of society, the choice of a new secretary general as a hope for a way out and concern about the country's fate.

The survey shows that the change of the BCP leadership has been received positively and has been backed. The change is related with the hopes for radical changes in society. At the same time 20 per cent of the respondents have expressed certain doubts that it is impossible to cope with the difficult situation no matter who is head of the BCP, though they approve of the election of Petur Mladenov. The opinions about him are all positive. The estimation is: "This was the best nomination."

In spite of the wide-range support and confidence in the new leader, certain fears are expressed, too, which according to sociologists are rooted in "the mistrust in the former leadership which has been amassed for years." Every fifth person of the respondents has expressed certain fears, reservations and doubts. Only a few are related with the assumption that "the one-man method, which has been typical so far might be used in the new conditions, too."

All respondents, with no exception, assess negatively the country's state. There are different opinions but they are united around the assertion that "the country is in a crisis and the senior leadership is to blame for it." The resignation of the former leader of the BCP is accepted as necessity as "something which had long to have happened". Sociologists explain that the public opinion polls over the last years showed a per saltum [as received] growth of the index of discontent. A representative study made this year shows that every third person thinks that: "in Bulgaria nothing goes as it should be going." The respondents now are insisting that the new leadership should come with a detailed analysis of the reasons, which have brought to the present situation.

The hopes set on the new leader are related primarily with the coming out of the present situation. Priority in the expectations goes for the economy and mainly the market as a deficiency is indicated as a main source of social tensions. People insist for "a differentiation to be made between party and state," for "rejuvenation of cadres". The renewal is related with pluralism of the opinions, with holding of really free and democratic elections at all levels, with the introduction of the mandate principle.

It is recommended that everything positive from the experience of the other countries be used.

The respondents insist on the restoration of social justice, on true democracy, on building of a state committed to the rule of law, on freedom of the personality, on equality. They insist that "privileges and Mafia of relationships" be abolished. "The privileged elite which has been formed" is said to be "explosive" source of social tension.

As far as the personal readiness for participation in the processes of renewal goes, the prevailing position now is the wait-and-see one.

Rally for Restructuring Scheduled for 18 Nov

AU1611210589 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 16 (BTA)—An initiative committee set up by the independent clubs and societies advocating the ideas of restructuring came up with an appeal for a rally in support of restructuring in Sofia on November 18.

The Appeal which was published in LITERATUREN FRONT, the weekly of the Union of Bulgarian Writers, is addressed to Bulgarian cultural figures and to the general public. It says that at this point the stand of the public and especially of Bulgarian intellectuals acquires a fateful importance for the future of the nation. The historic chance should not be missed. A complete break with the neo-Stalinist past and the establishment of a new democratic spirit in public life largely depends on the civic stand. The slogans for openness and pluralism of opinion, for human socialism, for defence of human rights and civil liberties, for turning man into a basic goal of socialism and of intellectual policy can only be implemented with the energetic participation of the entire society, says the appeal for the forthcoming plenum.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT carries a similar item on the rally planned for 18 November, adding that "the rally is not identical with the one scheduled for 17 November" at the Sofia National Assembly Square. The 18 November is scheduled to take place at Aleksandur Nevski Square]

Party Daily Calls For Less 'Anonymity'

AU1511113189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Nov 89 p 3

[Radoslav Radev article: "Overcoming Anonymity"]

[Text] I realize that some of the ideas I present here may be unacceptable; be that as it may. However, if these ideas exist, and if we take note of foreign practice, we cannot avoid presenting them in the press. Is not it better to discuss, argue, and seek bold and innovative solutions to the problem of overcoming anonymity, solutions that can help us today, tomorrow, and in the future? It is clear that the processes of developing glasnost are irreversible. This became axiomatic after the recent Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee plenum. Consequently, the new positions on the issue of glasnost can also become the subject of a lively exchange of opinions.

Thus, where must we abolish anonymity?

Perhaps we should take a look at cadre policy—the selection and promotion of leading figures. We already have a certain amount of experience in this area. Why do we not enrich and expand it? Let us first consider the opinions of those who best know the candidates for leading posts prior to their appointment. Let us say that an accountability-election party meeting is about to take place. There have already been some cases in which people consulted each other in advance about who would be proposed as member of the new bureau. They discuss the candidates' businesslike and political qualities, compare moral behavior, think about the candidates' ability to work with the people, and ask themselves whether a particular candidate has a uniting or a divisive personality? Thus, instead of a small commission preparing the new draft-membership under conditions of anonymity, many more people take part in this exceptionally responsible activity, which has lasting consequences. The benefit is more than obvious—because in addition to being an expression of democracy, this is also a matter of self-esteem and a unique guarantee of a more comprehensive assessment, reducing to a minimum the danger of being influenced by possibly subjective opinions. Developing and improving the competition-election principle presupposes a contest of possibilities and abilities, a public contest under the broadest public control. What could be better than this?

What about expanding this approach to many other units and realms; for example, to scientific and cultural institutes and higher social leaderships? I shall go even further. Could we not introduce the element of publicity [publichnost] in discussing, for example, candidates for ministerial posts? The proposal itself, as until now, could be made by the government leader. However, why could the appropriate national assembly, to which certain especially competent figures of the relevant area could be added, not discuss in detail the candidate's human and professional qualities, analyze his record of activity, study his program for the new post and, carefully assessing all this, make its recommendation to the National Assembly? Not only is this possible, I believe that the future will force this procedure on us, because the more broadly and publicly the human qualities of a candidate for the post of minister are discussed, the more strongly he would feel a sense of responsibility to those who have supported him after the detailed discussion. Other proposals could probably emerge during the discussion—such a comprehensive analysis of things could only be beneficial.

I gave as an example the selection of a minister, but this hardly exhausts the subject. The more broadly and openly we discuss these problems, the better the results will be, and the more we could demand from every leading figure, because in this way he would have a keener sense of the burden he was assuming and the responsibility the people were placing in his hands.

I have said it in the past, but I will say it again: We have the duty to demonstrate the main elements of the work of our higher party, state, and public organs. The way we now report their work, we almost create the impression that the higher leaders sit in their offices, receive foreigners, go to the airport to greet or see guests off, and attend receptions. We say nothing, or almost nothing, about the strenuous hours of reflection and discussion or about that specific leadership activity that daily determines the direction and pace of national life. Why? Because we think that it is inconvenient to describe the

work of a Politburo member or a minister. We can describe the work of a worker or a manager, we can even use half a newspaper page to describe the activity of a writer or a scientist; however, up to now, this would have been unthinkable for a major political figure. Why?

Let us move to another area—the Council of Ministers' meetings. I have attended many of them and was pleased by the degree of competence and the specific approach. Many times I have seen the government leader citing facts, mentioning the names of ministers and associations' chairmen in a critical context and drawing conclusions. In short, I have seen lively and serious discussions. However, when the report appeared in the press the following day, it contained general tales, no names, and hardly a single specific fact. Why? Because we have not learned to eliminate anonymity in cases whose publication would have made people think, would have startled them, and would have had a mobilizing effect. Let us also not forget what satisfaction could be created by the fact that even there, in the highest governmental echelon, there is no mincing words; but specific personal responsibility is demanded, concern is expressed with deviations from state discipline, and penalties are imposed on chairmen of trusts and associations, ministers, and other leaders. What, could we not get rid of this anonymity? Are there objective obstacles preventing an attempt to show how dynamically and openly the government is functioning? When necessary, we could also allow ourselves to make proposals and remarks—because we shall all benefit from it.

I mentioned only the Council of Ministers, but what I said applies not only to that organ.

We all understand that the role of the National Assembly and every deputy must be increased. However, for this we need something else—to introduce voting by name on all important draft laws and report this voting by name. The voters who have sent their representatives to the highest state organ would probably like to know about the positions of their representatives on every issue. However, how can they learn about these positions if we have wrapped this issue in anonymity? I think that whenever there are special problems or draft laws, we must report by name and announce in the press who was for or against the issue under discussion and why. Probably we will get used to accepting as normal the fact that there would not be total unanimity on every vote, that there are arguments and clashes of opinions, and that there are people who have voted "for" and "against."

We could quickly break away from excessive safety measures related to data and facts that do not represent a state secret, but nevertheless are concealed in the unassailable fortress of anonymity—I mean issues that no matter how uncomfortable they are the world writes about them, and thus we must learn from foreign sources things that affect us. Examples? Let me cite a few. What do we know about whether we have or do not have a state deficit? We have debts to foreign countries. How big are they? Do they fall within normal limits or do they exceed a reasonable limit? If they exceed that limit, would not it be better to report this, disclose information, and seek a solution through common thoughts and purposeful actions? Now we know about the debts of the so-called Third World countries and the debts of certain socialist countries. At the same time, Western sources are citing various statistics about our country, and we are lost in our attempts to guess the truth; or let us take the issue of the inflation processes: In many socialist countries data is regularly being published, and those things are being explained. Do not we have to abolish anonymity in this area, too? And what about the issue of crime? Must it still hide under a shadow? It appears that our country is regularly reporting precise data to the United Nations, however, we still do not dare to release anything for domestic "consumption." Why? Do we not understand that by not releasing precise data and not publicly analyzing the main reasons for crime we blunt the edge of public indignation toward those negative phenomena in our country? How are we supposed to mobilize the people for active struggle if they have no real notion about the dynamics and specific characteristics of the various kinds of criminal actions?

What about all the layers that we must dig up in anything related to many extremely important issues of our daily life? Take for example the issue of self-supply. The municipal leadership and the people living in the settlements have the land, the equipment, their plans, and obligations. However, they do not have enough meat, dairy products, and so forth. As a result, a specific attitude is created, and reproaches and complaints are directed toward the top echelons and the state. The specific mood is directed not toward the local responsible organ or figure but by all means outside the territory, not toward the people directly responsible for the state of supply. Why? Is this anonymity not a factor that breeds irresponsibility and a lack of initiative? In this way do we not encourage a wait-and-see attitude and charge the state with responsibility in the area of consumption? We still have not learned to apply glasnost in another area—the labor efficiency of every economic organization. Why do we not declare the amount of the subsidies annually granted by the state to many enterprises? Let everyone see for himself and understand factors such as the pace, organization, and efficiency of the work of the collective and its leaders. Is it not justifiable to move on toward such practice?

Obviously, good possibilities also exist in other areas. We are all indignant about the countless cases of unfinished work in the construction of new apartment blocks. How many of these blocks have a plaque with the names of the architect, builder, and leader who should be held responsible? Thus when those people's relatives or children pass by the blocks they can feel uncomfortable. Now total lack of responsibility, as well as blackmail and embezzlement, reign in total anonymity. Now almost every second new apartment requires a lot of resources, time, and materials, not to mention strain, before the dwellers can live normally. It is the state that builds and

distributes; however, because of lack of specific and public responsibility on the part of many implementers, the results are often pitiable. What can we do so that at least the curse of the dreadfully done work does not disappear when the construction workers disappear from the site? I am not saying that we should make a mountain out of a molehill, as the saying goes, but it is high time to do something. Then the person who knows that his name will be prominently displayed and that his responsibility will be obvious long after he himself has departed the scene would think hard about the quality of his work.

Indeed, the issue in question is of greater scope—the question is how to lift the anonymity covering the quality and results of every collective's and every man's work. The piecework system, leasing, and collective forms of labor organization presuppose finding a means of total publicity about what man gives society. The normative documents and the wage system are constructed on this principle—the public assessment of the contribution of every man. However, in the final analysis, the application of every document depends on the people and collectives. Are we prepared to apply a similar approach everywhere?

We would probably have to change the way in which the relieving of responsible leaders is announced. Until now the practice has been to announce that this was the result of a "transfer to another post," or for "reasons of expediency." Obviously, this practice is no longer satisfactory. There are sufficient and shocking examples—the public knows that someone or other has failed as a leader or has morally failed, and yet the announcement absolves him. While he has been absolved, we must not underestimate the reproach toward the organ that has absolved him.

Moreover, many letters to newspapers deal with rumors about salaries, fees, and bonuses. The claims in this area are often simply fantastic. I believe our society would benefit if a new order was introduced in this area too. In many countries it is accepted to grade the leading personalities of the nation according to their annual income. In these lists one can read the names of artists and other especially highly paid specialists. This is published, it satisfies public interest, and it precludes the possibility of guesswork and phantasmagoria. Would it not be better to establish such practice in Bulgaria in the near future and publish the names of the 20 or 30 persons with the highest income during the relevant year, or even the salaries of the higher leaders? In this way the public would understand whether these people have obtained their income justly or unjustly; they would be able to compare the amount with the persons' achievements and perhaps make some reasonable suggestions.

We receive many letters at the Editorial Board. They contain proposals not to publish unsigned articles in the newspaper. The same opinion has been expressed in many conversations. The argument is invariably the same—let it be precisely known who stands behind every word. It is appropriate that even the briefest reports or notes are signed by the author. It is well-known that this increases the writer's sense of responsibility and encourages him to be more demanding of himself. Furthermore, writing in the style of "at some places.... some persons...." is categorically out of place in our time. Now more than ever before we need a specific character in our writing and publications. Obviously, this line will completely assert itself in our journalism.

However, I must point out one demand that is out of place. Is it possible for a daily newspaper to relinquish the leading or editorial articles? People suggest to us that the leading article must be signed by the chief editor or another member of the leadership. The same applies to the editorial articles. The purpose ostensibly is to eliminate anonymity in this respect. Please, what anonymity is involved in this specific case? Does the entire Editorial Board not stand behind the leading and editorial articles? The leading and editorial articles are viewed with total justification as the collective word of the Editorial Board, and not as the opinion of a particular journalist. The value of those articles is higher. They can be of a direct nature, they can assess, clarify, or explain things. Something written by a single writer, no matter how brilliant it may be, by no means has the same power.

These are almost elementary truths. However, since even journalist colleagues pose similar questions, they must be clarified so that we do not expect the impossible and improper.

The fact that only articles that exclusively reflect the collective opinion of the Editorial Board can remain unsigned is a separate issue. Since the newspaper will no longer pay any attention to anonymous letters and tips, it will not publish readers' anonymous articles. If someone wants to participate in the discussion of certain issues, let him be kind enough and sign his name. Otherwise the article will not be published. This has already been established by the Politburo decision on taking no action on the basis of anonymous letters.

As you can see, when we talk about overcoming anonymity in our life we are in fact reviewing various aspects of the greater issue of glasnost in society. Regardless of how powerful the administrative-command system is, how much it profits from anonymity, and how powerful is our sense of excessive security, we simply have no sensible alternative to introducing far-reaching changes, especially changes in those people, who are used to anonymity in many units and cases. I mean changes in human consciousness.

The main thing is to seek and try. Nobody will teach us—we alone must trace our road.

As far as the proposed ideas and thoughts are concerned, I must point out that they are not beyond dispute. They can encourage us to seek more specific variants for overcoming anonymity in our society to the maximum degree. The more numerous and more interesting the views are, the better and more scientifically based the solutions we could find.

Thus, these reflections are not the last word on this subject. They show the way to stimulate ideas and describe the accumulated experience. Let us not forget—the less the value of anonymity is, in respect to property or in all other aspects of our life, the greater the specific character of our work and our responsibility and care for the fate of restructuring and socialism will be.

In the final analysis, this is the most important thing.

Science, Culture, Education Congresses Delayed

AU1311210289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] The National Council of Education, Science, and Culture, the Ministry of National Education, the Committee of Science and Higher Education, and the Committee of Culture, taking into consideration the fact that an evaluation of the progress of restructuring is expected to be made following the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee November plenum, and taking into account the proposals of numerous delegates, decided that it would be expedient to postpone the forthcoming congresses of national education, science and higher education, and culture.

Mladenov, Atanasov Receives USSR's Gusev

AU1511183889 Sofia BTA in English 1751 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 15 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], today received Mr Vladimir Gusev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, who is paying a visit here in connection with the 33rd session of the Bulgaro-Soviet Intergovernmental Committee of Economic and Sci-Technical Cooperation.

Mr Mladenov informed the Soviet guest about the steps taken by the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party for making the processes of restructuring more dynamic and for extending them in the spirit of the decisions of the latest plenum of the CC of the BCP held in November this year.

A shared conviction was expressed that the innovative processes in Bulgaria and the USSR will create favourable prerequisites for the further advancement of Bulgaro-Soviet cooperation.

The two sides discussed some matters related to the prospects of the two countries' economic interaction.

Mr Vladimir Gusev was received by Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

They exchanged opinions on the course of the economic reforms in the two countries and the problems arising in the process of their implementation.

The two sides discussed some concrete problems of the coordination of the plans and the development of trade between the two countries in the 1991-1995 period.

Pact Signed With PRC on Geological Cooperation

AU1111192289 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 11 (BTA)—Mr Chudomir Aleksandrov, chairman of the Committee for Geology with the Council of Ministers, and Mr Zhu Hun, minister of geology and mineral resources of China, today signed an aide memoire on the promotion of economic cooperation in geology.

Opportunities open up for sharing experience in the production of up-to-date geological prospecting equipment for geophysical, geochemical, hydrological and laboratory tests. Conditions are created to establish business contacts in the exploration and utilization of new unconventional mineral resources to solve research and development problems. Besides, practical experience and views will be exchanged on the management and organisation of prospecting and in technico-economic feasibility studies of mineral deposits.

Romanians Refuse To Sign Youth Agreement

AU1311210089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] The consultative meeting of secretaries from central leaderships of youth unions from socialist countries in charge of the "Partnership" [Sodruzhestvo] Program, within the framework of the International Technical Youth Exhibition, ended in Plovdiv.

Questions related to the role of youth unions for the further development of international scientific-technical cooperation in the activities of youth associations, companies, and institutes from various countries were discussed.

All participants, with the exception of the Romanian representatives, signed a joint declaration on the future integrational activities in the field of the "Partnership" Program among youth unions from socialist countries.

Goods Exchange Agreement Signed With Cuba

AU1011214489 Sofia BTA in English 2014 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Havana, November 10 (BTA)—In the Fair Complex "Expocuba" a protocol was signed yesterday on "Goods Exchange and Payments Between Bulgaria and Cuba for 1990." The document contains clauses on the mutual supply of articles and goods to the total amount of 330 million rubles. According to the protocol Cuba will continue its traditional export of raw sugar, molasses, fresh citrus fruit, articles for electronics as well as nickel. On its part Bulgaria will export products of the

electronics, the foodstuffs and the light industry, hoisting and handling and metal cutting machines, chemical and pharmaceutical products.

Additional Incentives for Sheep Breeders

AU1311093889

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 9 November carries on page 1 a 1,200-word report entitled: "Further Incentives for the Development of Milk Sheep Breeding" containing instructions jointly issued by the Ministry of Planning and Economy, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, and the Bulgarian National Bank, as a supplement to Decree No. 45 of the Council of Ministers on increasing the number of cows and sheep and on creating conditions for the development of milk sheep breeding and stock breeding which was published 2 months ago.

The report states that since no "decisive changes for the better" resulting from Decree No. 45 could be established over the last 2 months, some additional instructions are required. The chief "negative phenomena" are described as follows:

"The hesitation of companies with sufficient financial resources to invest in the sheep-breeding sector, in the first place, the slow transition to the land-lease system, in the second place," and "the fact that the procedures on applying Decree No. 45 are still unclarified."

To correct these shortcomings, the Ministry of Planning and Economy, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, and the Bulgarian National Bank issued the following two instructions:

—"Instruction on the procedure for financing the increase of cows, buffalo cows, and ewes."

—"Instruction on the procedure for selling convertible foreign currency to local individuals for sheep's milk production delivered to the state."

The report on the new instructions clarifies that "the expenditures for the sale of foreign currency to sheep breeders should be provided by the dairy products-exporting companies at the expense of part of their foreign exchange incomes according to a procedure established by the Bulgarian National Bank and the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank."

The final passage of the report reads: "The conditions for the application of Decree No. 45 envisaged in the two aforementioned instructions provide opportunities for the prompt and effective access of milk producers to the incentives in question and simplify the intricate bureaucratic procedures that cause confusion and that we have encountered on several occasions. The question is whether we will be able to transform the incentives into a strong lever likely to motivate interest and to ensure a normal functioning of the system as envisaged in the aforementioned documents."

Government Holds News Conference 16 Nov

LD1611194889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] [Announcer] Tourism with our neighboring states and travel abroad by Czechoslovak journalists were the main issues of interest to Czechoslovak and foreign newsmen at a press briefing following today's federal government session. Here is Jana Havligerova with more details:

[Havligerova] The federal government today discussed tourism with neighboring states, with particular emphasis on phenomena such as speculation, the hoarding of large quantities of goods, and so forth. This year in particular there has been an increase in 1-day shopping trips to our country by citizens from Poland, Hungary, the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia. Therefore, the federal government has decided that, in addition to the already valid measures, 1- and 2-day group excursions from these countries planned by Czechoslovak travel agencies up to the end of this year and in the first 6 months of next year are to be canceled. This also applies to exchange trips by enterprises.

The government went on to discuss the first version of the draft stabilization program for redressing and consolidating the balance of our economy, a report on fuel and energy supplies to enterprises and domestic consumers in the winter, and also discussed other documents—for example, a report on the results of the 132d session of the CEMA Executive Committee in Moscow in October.

At the news conference, the newsmen were primarily interested in the new regulations on processing travel documents for Czechoslovak citizens, especially the replacement of exit visas by statistical sheets [statisticky list]. On this subject, Miroslav Pavel, head of the press department of the Office of the Federal Government Presidium, said:

[Begin Pavel recording] This document will be issued in a single visit to the relevant visa and passport department. This means that it will not be necessary to submit the application, wait for it to be processed, queue up once again to have it issued, and only then take the exit visa away with you. Under the proposals which have been drawn up, everything will be processed in a single visit. Yesterday, Minister of the Interior Kincl said that this would take effect before next year's tourist season—that means during the 1st quarter of next year. [end recording]

[Havligerova] Further questions referred to internal Czechoslovak political matters. In his replies, Miroslav Pavel briefed the newsmen on the preparation of the draft Constitution, which will be submitted for public discussion, the drawing up of bills on [freedom of] assembly and association, and other bills the federal government is working on.

[Announcer] A Prague correspondent of the Hungarian Government made a statement at the news conference in which, under great attention from the cameramen of Western television stations, he protested the actions of Public Security officers against his person during Wednesday's unauthorized gathering in the Old Town which, he said, he was watching from a distance. He voiced the view that this was a violation of international agreements, and asked that the case be taken up by the Federal Ministry of the Interior.

In response, Miroslav Pavel stressed that it had to be seen as a sign of goodwill that he had been given the opportunity to make that statement at the news conference, which was being held for a completely different purpose, and that he should address his complaint to the appropriate department of the federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

According to information from organs of the Czech Socialist Republic's Ministry of the Interior and Environment, it has not yet been ascertained whether there had been any such action against the person of the Hungarian journalist. If different facts were established, the correspondent would certainly receive the apologies he had requested.

Presidium Calls CC Plenum for 14-15 Dec

LD1611214389 Prague CTK in English 2036 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 16 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium decided at it session here today to call the 16th session of the party Central Committee for December 14-15.

The session will discuss inter alia a report on the implementation of the plan of social and economic development in 1989, a draft 1990 plan, preparation of the 9th Five-Year Plan and the state of the implementation of the restructuring of the economic mechanism before January 1, 1990. Submitted to the Central Committee for discussion will be draft principles of the program of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and a draft document on the targets and bases of Czechoslovakia's socio-economic development in the 9th Five-Year-Plan period and in the following years.

The Presidium was acquainted with the state of work on the preparation of a new Czechoslovak constitution.

Federal Assembly Session Debate Summarized

AU1611152489

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 15 November on page 1 carries a 1,600-word report by Marie Koenigova and Igor Sirota on the opening day of the 15th joint meeting of both chambers of the CSSR Federal Assembly, held in Prague on 14 November. The report is published under the headline "The Government's Program Is a Program of Advancement." On the same day, on page 3, RUDE PRAVO carries a 3,200-word unattributed account of discussion statements made on the first day of the meeting and of Government

members' replies to deputies' interpellations. The 1st day of the Federal Assembly meeting is also the subject of a 3,500-word CTK report, entitled "Accelerating the Socioeconomic Development of Our Socialist Society," published by Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 15 November on pages 1 and 3.

According to the RUDE PRAVO report, the meeting opened with the presentation of the CSSR Government report on the implementation of its policy statement of 8 November 1988, which was delivered by Premier Ladislav Adamec. Adamec's report was followed by a debate on it, in the course of which 18 deputies took the floor. After government members' replies to interpellations made in the debate and after Premier Adamec's closing address, the Federal Assembly meeting adopted a resolution. Finally, as the last item on the agenda of the 1st day of its meeting, the Federal Assembly reportedly "approved an amendment to the law on the uniform system of socioeconomic information." Neither RUDE PRAVO nor PRAVDA reveals any details on the nature of this amendment.

The following statements made in the debate that are reported in the party press are deemed of interest:

Deputy Jaroslav Klicha, chief of the Political Main Administration of the Czechoslovak People's Army, is said to have "discussed the specific results achieved in reducing defense spending." According to his statement, "so far, six regiments, one Air Force unit, and one combined-arms formation have been taken out of the system of combat alert. A total of 138 tanks have been liquidated and 51 aircraft have been put out of service." Moreover, beginning in 1991, some 18,000 Czechoslovak People's Army members are to help the building industry and the economy. Of these 18,000 servicemen, "10,000 will be helping Prague and Bratislava in reconstruction and modernization projects as well as in the construction of health care and ecological facilities; 6,000 soldiers will be working in the border spa resorts; and 2,000 Army members will reinforce the railroad troops."

Deputy Ernest Balog from East Slovakia is reported to have said that the "restructured" wholesale prices, which went into force on 1 January 1989, "have brought a greater number of negative than positive phenomena" because they "created a whole group of enterprises, and even entire branches, which, through no fault of their own, have turned from profit makers into loss makers."

Because of the new wholesale prices, construction enterprises, for example, "cannot stand on their own feet economically and cannot operate in a new way. Instead of the principle of economic independence being strengthened, their economic dependence on the center has been strengthened." According to Balog, the problems of building enterprises are compounded by the shortage of building materials and other inputs: "After all, it is impossible to implement construction without doors, windows, installation material, and so forth," he says. The East Slovak deputy is also said to have discussed the manpower shortage in the building industry and to have noted that "the acquisition of missing labor in Poland is a dead end and an incorrect solution, all the more so because reports have been leaked at the beginning of November 1989 on the Government of the Polish People's Republic's demand that Polish workers' wages be paid in freely convertible currencies."

Deputy Stefan Trsko, a worker from Povazska Bystrica, criticizes in his statement the "interventions of central agencies" into enterprise wage funds and the constantly changing regulations on wages resulting from them. According to Trsko, "central agencies' interventions weaken the motivating function of wages, whose growth does not match the growth in the cost of living. This is why workers are often looking for a job on the side, the income from which is often decisive, while the importance of wages for their 8- hour-job is marginal." Trsko reports that because of the "deteriorating position of engineering in terms of earning possibilities, compared with other national economic branches," 1,250 employees of the Povazska Bystrica-based Ball-Bearing Plants concern, or almost 4 percent of the entire workforce, have given notice since the beginning of this year.

Deputy Viera Martinicova from Skalica is reported to have said that "despite the steps taken by the CSSR Government to reinforce a balanced development on the internal market, strain between supply and demand has not been eliminated." She refers, in particular, to the "chronic shortage" of some industrial items, such as "freezers, automatic washing machines, upholstered furniture, kitchen furniture, tiles, and so forth." Martinicova also criticizes the attempts of state enterprises to reduce the supply of goods in lower price categories and warns that "this not only has a negative impact on some economically weaker members of our society, but could even influence citizens' approaches and attitudes to the process of restructuring."

Deputy Lubomir Fanta, who represents the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, reportedly dealt in his statement with "the observance of socialist rule of law and with the protection of public order and civil rights and liberties." In this context he "informed [the Federal Assembly] that the Czechoslovak Socialist Party is preparing a draft law on the right to petition."

The discussion statement by Deputy Josef Puchmeltr contains reservations about the government's program of structural changes. Puchmeltr says that "it is absolutely illogical to cut back the production of the raw material and fuel base first, without reducing the consumption of fuels, power, and materials." In his opinion, "the reduction of brown coal mining must be a consequence of lower consumption in the entire national economy and not a factor limiting its further development." Speaking about structural changes, Puchmeltr also says that "it will be necessary to reconsider their extent. After all, state development programs alone would require [investments of] Kcs370 billion. At the

same time, it has been proved that about 70 percent of structural changes will be carried out in the enterprise sphere."

According to the RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA reports, several deputies used their statements to address questions to members of the Federal Government.

Deputy Anton Hlavac, for example, asked Deputy Premier Obzina about the future coordination of cooperation among CEMA countries. Reporting on Obzina's reply, RUDE PRAVO says: "Deputy Premier Jaromir Obzina said that the CEMA countries discuss the coordination of their national economic plans at the central level and at the level of enterprises. Poland and Hungary assume that the center will attend to between 20 and 30 percent of mutual exchange. The rest will be within the jurisdiction of economic bodies. Bulgaria, the GDR, and Romania are in favor of the greatest possible share of the state. In relation to Cuba, Mongolia, and Vietnam, we assert the principle that economic cooperation should be separated from economic assistance to these countries. As far as exchange with the Soviet Union is concerned, we envisage that in the next 5-year period about 40 percent will be agreed upon at the central level and the rest between enterprises. However, there is a number of open issues here. One must consider that Czechoslovakia has a trade surplus with the socialist countries. In conclusion he stressed that exchange with the Polish People's Republic and the Hungarian Republic is trade with goods and technology and not the trading in of socialism. We are not trading in the interests of our people and of the CSSR."

Deputy Jana Pekarova asked Frantisek Pitra, premier of the Czech Socialist Republic, about the possibility of giving universities preferential access to building capacities, in view of the urgent need for their modernization. Pitra reportedly replied that the education sector's "investment requirements exceed by far our possibilities," which is why they will have to be pared down to about the 400 most important projects worth Kcs1.7 billion in the entire Ninth 5-Year Plan.

Finally, RUDE PRAVO reports Foreign Trade Minister Jan Sterba's response to Deputy Frantisek Axmann's question about Czechoslovak exports and imports of agricultural and food products in 1988. According to RUDE PRAVO, Sterba replied that exports of these products amounted to Kcs18.2 billion, of which the socialist countries accounted for Kcs4 billion and capitalist countries for the rest. In the same year, Czechoslovakia imported Kcs30.3 billion worth of agricultural and food products.

14 Nov Resolution Published

AU1611145489 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Nov 89 p 3

[CTK report: "Resolution of the Federal Assembly" adopted at the close of the 15th joint meeting of the two chambers of the CSSR Federal Assembly in Prague on 14 November]

[Text] At the 15th joint meeting of the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of Nations on 14 November 1989, the CSSR Federal Assembly discussed a report on the implementation of the CSSR Government's Policy Statement, delivered by its chairman Ladislav Adamec.

The Federal Assembly noted that the CSSR Government—in the spirit of the resolutions of the Central Committee of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] and of the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front—gradually ensures the implementation of the tasks of its 8 November 1988 policy statement. The government is striving to accelerate socioeconomic development and further improve the standard of living. In accordance with the laws approved by the Federal Assembly, it has been creating the necessary conditions for the introduction of the new economic mechanism on 1 January 1990.

Economic growth is faster than the annual plan envisaged, and the labor productivity in industry grew faster than the dynamics of production. The government applied some regulatory measures in the interest of the domestic market's stabilization. It paid constant attention to the shaping and the protection of the environment.

However, despite some positive trends, the tasks arising from the law on the Eighth 5-Year Plan are not being fulfilled for both objective and subjective reasons. The desired turn in the development of the economy's efficiency and intensification did not occur, and the quality-related intentions of the plan were not completely fulfilled, particularly with regard to faster application of scientific-technical knowledge in production, quality, capital construction, cost-efficiency of the reproduction process, and the creation of national income. The strain continues between resources and needs and in the supplier-user relations.

The government paid attention to the development of socialist democracy, the reinforcement of the law, morals, and discipline; it safeguarded public order and the security of the state against the violation of laws both by individuals and antisocialist groups.

The collaboration with the CSSR Federal Assembly in the implementation of the legislative program intensified. When it comes to developing socialist democracy, it works hand in hand with the National Front.

The government strives for the CSSR's more marked involvement in the socialist labor division, and even when reducing expenditures it ensures the CSSR's defense capability within the union of the Warsaw Pact member states.

The government continues to strengthen CSSR's international standing and prestige, observes international contractual commitments, and demands their observance from the partner countries. It is taking an active part in the development of the all-European process, and in this respect consistently insists on the preservation of

the postwar arrangement in Europe, which is the guarantee of stability and peaceful cooperation.

The deputies demand that in the implementation of its policy statement the CSSR Government concentrate its effort, in particular, on the consistent implementation of the renewal program and the strenthening of both the domestic and the external economic balance and the intensificationn of economic growth, on a faster solution of problems in the supplier-user relations, and on the consistent fulfillment of all obligations connected with the function as founders of the individual bodies of the center. In order to improve the situation on the domestic market it is necessary to develop activity of the national committees, control bodies, and bodies concerned with combatting black marketeering and the disruption of the market's stability caused by disproportionate purchases of goods, especially in the border areas, and speculation and unlawful self-enrichment.

Further, the deputies demand a consistent implementation of the social program, improvement of medical services, further development of science, culture, socialist arts, and the population's education. They stress the importance of a consistent implementation of tasks in shaping and protecting the environment, of a sparing use of natural resources, and of enhancing the ecological awareness of the population.

The Federal Assembly's resolution charged the deputies with the task to improve activity in constituencies, and actively—in cooperation with the deputies of the entire representative system, economic bodies, and bodies and organizations of the National Front—to contribute to the development of the working people's initiative aimed at implementing the laws pertaining to the acceleration of socioeconomic development by means of the realization of the restructuring of the economic mechanism and intensifying socialist democracy.

International Agreements Approved

LD1611042289 Prague CTK in English 1352 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 15 (CTK)—The signing of a protocol on struggle against acts of violence at international airports is in tune with efforts that Czechoslovakia has been making in struggling against unlawful acts against civilian aviation, Czechoslovak Minister of Transport and Communications Frantisek Podlena said here today.

At a session of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, continuing for the second day today, which dealt with this issue and approved the protocol, Minister Podlena said it follows up the convention on crimes and other offences committed aboard airplanes (Tokyo 1963), the convention on suppressing hijackings of planes (The Hague 1970) and the convention on suppressing acts threatening the safety of civilian aviation (Montreal 1971), of which Czechoslovakia is a signatory.

The Federal Assembly also approved a Czechoslovak-Hungarian agreement on legal aid and legal relations in civil, family and crime cases, signed March 28, 1989, a Czechoslovak-GDR agreement on legal aid in civil, family and crime cases, signed in April 1989 and a Czechoslovak-Yugoslav agreement on the extradition of persons given jail sentences, signed in May 1989.

Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes said the agreements are intended to improve cooperation in the legal and humanitarian spheres and increase the interests of citizens and organizations of the parties to the conventions.

The Federal Assembly further approved a U.N. convention on contracts on international goods purchases and an additional protocol to the convention on limitation in international goods purchases. Foreign Trade Minister Jan Sterba said the two documents, in whose elaboration Czechoslovakia took a significant part, are in the interest of Czechoslovakia's greater integration in international trade.

Federal Assembly deputies also approved bills on the Czechoslovak budgetary system and on rules of management with budgetary funds and on the State Bank of Czechoslovakia.

Potac on CSSR Financial Situation

AU1311143389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Nov 89 p 2

[Interview with Svatopluk Potac, chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank, by RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Pavel Paral: "On Debts and Claims"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Paral] How high are our debts at this time?

[Potac] If we want to characterize the development of our gross indebtedness in recent years, we must, to begin with, go back to the Sixth 5-Year Plan, when the economy received a more than $5-million credit injection. This credit was meant to make it possible—by increasing overall economic performance and efficiency—to overcome the consequences of changes in world conditions, especially the rise in prices of raw materials and other products and services on markets abroad. We did not succeed in achieving that.

The economic policy for the Seventh 5-Year Plan, that is, for the 1980-85 period, was determined to partially reduce the debt. This was necessary in view of the capitalist states' discriminatory way of handling socialist countries' loans, which occurred at the beginning of the 5-year plan. The inability of the developing and some socialist countries' to pay was used as a pretext to sweepingly refuse granting loans to all socialist countries regardless of their position as debtors. During that period, our gross debt decreased by more than $2 billion to $4.6 billion at the end of 1985.

The strain within the economy grows in the Eighth 5-Year Plan. The imbalance intensifies—demands on

imports are increasing while exports are stagnating. At the same time, we are increasingly beginning to miss payments due and unpaid debts in foreign exchange to both the government and enterprises. In the current 5-year plan, their volume will increase by roughly $1.2 billion. Therefore, measures are being taken to, so to say, unblock [deblokace] them for the sake of national economic needs, particularly for the domestic market and the health field.

A number of credit-intensive actions has also begun to be realized. All that led to the increase of overall indebtedness. On 30 September 1989, it reached the level of 1980, that is, $6.9 billion. In this regard, one has to say that although our indebtedness in dollars might not have changed, it can considerably deviate up or down if we translate it into korunas, depending on the fluctuation of the dollar's rate of exchange vis-a-vis the Czechoslovak koruna.

[Paral] Do you regard our debts as out of proportion?

[Potac] [passage omitted] The share of our debts in all loans to CEMA countries in freely convertible currencies is roughly 5 percent; whereas our share in the total CEMA countries' foreign trade is 10 percent.

The extent of our debts and the structure for repayment and interest payments are proportionate to our economic potential and the volume of our foreign trade. [passage omitted] We are not at all in a situation as some countries are, which are asking for the deferment of the repayment of loans for several years or which do not even have enough to pay the interest. [passage omitted]

[Paral] On what were the loans spent?

[Potac] On principle, we are making use of foreign loans to import machinery and equipment, the utilization of which is to ensure not only the repayment of the loans and interest, but, above all, to contribute to labor productivity, to increasing exports and deliveries for the domestic market, and to manufacture better quality and more modern products. [passage omitted] In the first 3 years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, we imported from the nonsocialist countries machinery and equipment worth Kcs50 billion, of which Kcs10 billion were imported on the basis of returnable foreign exchange credits. [passage omitted]

[Paral] In addition to debts, we also have considerable claims abroad.

[Potac] [passage omitted] Currently our claims vis-a-vis the socialist countries total Kcs45 billion. A part of that sum are government loans. By granting those credits to some socialist countries, we are ensuring for ourselves long-term deliveries of raw materials, particularly crude oil, natural gas, sulphur, iron ore, and electricity. On the other hand, by exports—with government credits—to the developing countries, we are ensuring the sales of our engineering products and capital goods. By doing that, we are helping those countries become industrialized. Outstanding debts owed us in hard currency total several hundred million dollars. [passage omitted]

Jakes, Husak Send Congratulations to Angola

AU1411122789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Nov 89 p 2

[CTK report from the "Receptions, Discussions, Telegrams, and Letters" column]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, and Gustav Husak, CSSR president, have sent a joint congratulatory telegram to Jose Eduardo dos Santos, President of the People's Republic of Angola and chairman of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party, on the occasion of his country's National Day.

Travel to West Increases 43 Percent

AU1211164189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Nov 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Sessions of the Czech Socialist Republic and Slovak Socialist Republic Governments"]

[Excerpts] Prague—At its session on Wednesday [8 November], the Czech Socialist Republic Government acquainted itself with the conclusions of the recent Congress of the Czech Union of Disabled Citizens. [passage omitted]

Furthermore, the government assessed the implementation of measures aimed at developing tourism. [passage omitted] In the 1st ½ of this year, the number of foreign tourists in Czechoslovakia increased by 25 percent; the number of tourists from nonsocialist countries increased by 13 percent. A contribution to this was made, inter alia, by the issuance of visas at border checkpoints, but also by the generally broadened supply and range of services, catering, and accommodations. [passage omitted] The interest in developing entrepreneurial activity in the area of tourism is also evident in the founding of 23 new organizations authorized to operate as travel agencies. [passage omitted] The government assessed as positive the fact that the implemented measures have made it possible for the number of Czechoslovak citizens traveling to nonsocialist countries to increase by 43 percent.

Despite these positive features, the range and quality of services do not meet the required standards. Even though Prague's capacity for accommodation has increased through the remodeling of hotels, and even though 200 beds in student dormitories were used by tourists during the high season, the chronic shortage of accommodations and the limited capacity of catering establishments continues. [passage omitted]

Course of Annual Members' Meeting Reviewed

AU1311095889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Nov 89 p 1

[Editorial: "The Annual Meetings Enter Into the Final Period"]

[Excerpts] The party primary organizations' annual members' meetings have entered into their final period. At these meetings, communists are not only considering the results achieved while fulfilling the congress program, but, first and foremost, they are looking toward the future. They are determining what has to be done in order that each primary organization might contribute its share to a more accelerated policy of restructuring and to the development of intra-party democracy.

Where organizations had placed themselves in front of a critical mirror and where they had uncovered the roots of shortcomings and difficulties—along with their causes—was where the foundations were laid for the elimination of those things that, to date, are slowing down the policy of restructuring. Comradely criticism at such meetings has never offended anyone, but it has led to contemplation about attitudes toward work, the collective, and party membership.

However, this also reveals that in some of the organizations the Ninth Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Session on party work under the conditions of restructuring has not yet been accepted. Once again, self-satisfaction has manifested itself, self-satisfaction that stems from an inherent lack of exacting demands and also, possibly, from an inability to work in a new way in the party organization as well as from an unwillingness to look for effective forms and methods of work and to consider how to intensify people's trust in party policy in every workplace. This trust is indisputably associated with the organization's authority and with the active and exemplary behavior of every communist.

More than 15 members are elected by secret ballot in primary organizations. This electoral method corresponds to the requirement that the party sets an example to the whole political system by its democratic manner and by its internal life. It is necessary to say frankly that some organizations, at variance with the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's resolution on the annual members' meetings and party conferences, still hold elections publicly.

Why agree to secret elections, in particular? First and foremost, because, so far, such conditions as well as the atmosphere for communists to openly express their opinions on cadre matters do not exist everywhere. Experiences from the annual members' meetings that are underway only confirm this. The secret ballot method enables the very best people to be elected. After all, the expanded list of candidates was accepted with the widespread participation of party groups. Prior to the elections, every communist had an opportunity to express his opinion on it and to influence it. The elections, then, are the culmination of a deeply established democratic selection process.

As the facts make clear, turnover in primary organization committees is 20-40 percent. In approximately 25-33 percent of organizations there is a new chairman. However, each cadre change must contribute to the main thing: to the better fulfillment of tasks, to intensifying the productivity and capability of action of the organization and its committee, and to the more consistent implementation of party policy in each workplace or locality.

Some comrades proposed for the committee, among them those who had been considered as chairmen, were not elected. This testifies to the insufficient care devoted to cadre preparation, to depreciating the new conditions under which organizations are working, and, in many places, to a poor knowledge of the party collective's opinions. It is necessary to draw lessons from this. [passage omitted]

In recent years, the pace of supplementing party ranks has slowed down. Although, during a period of 3 years since the 17th CPCZ Congress, the party has grown by more than 46,000 communists, the smallest growth was recorded in 1988. The number of workers in the party has slumped. It is essential that at their annual meetings the organizations not only discuss this but, mainly, that they draw the corresponding conclusions. [passage omitted]

While further forming the party ranks, it is necessary to pay attention to their corresponding social and age composition. The Communist Party is and will continue to be, first and foremost, a party of the working class. This characteristic will be boosted. However, the main issue at present is, as the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session emphasized, to accept into the party all those, irrespective of age and social composition, who have an honest and sincere interest in membership and who demonstrate at their workplaces and in their public social activity that they are capable of and willing to assert party policy and to take responsibility. This includes those who lost their party membership after the crisis years but who support the party's activity and policy. However, this does not mean a reappraisal of their stances during the crisis years. This involves an expression of their contemporary involvement in the construction of socialism in our country. [passage omitted]

First Socialist Youth Union Conference Held

LD1111143889 Prague CTK in English 1133 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 11 (CTK)—A two-day national conference of the Czechoslovak Socialist Union of Youth started here today, attended by more than 950 delegates.

The task of the first conference in the union's history, is to discuss and approve a draft for the document "our program - through restructuring and democratization towards further development of socialist Czechoslovakia".

The participants will deal with the rules of the Socialist Union of Youth, its program, a draft for principles of a law on state policies of care for children and youth, prepared by the Socialist Union of Youth, a program of comprehensive care for children and youth and will assume stands on amendments to school laws and a bill on the living environment.

Also present is a delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, the Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee and the Czechoslovak Government, headed by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary and Chairman of the National Front Central Committee Milos Jakes.

Among other members of the delegation are President Gustav Husak, Premier Ladislav Adamec and other representatives of the Czechoslovak political and public life.

The Socialist Union of Youth, a united voluntary social organization of youth in Czechoslovakia, was founded in 1970 and at present associates 48 per cent of Czechoslovak youth aged from 14 to 30. The union is a member organization of the Czechoslovak National Front.

Chairman Presents Report

LD1111144989 Prague CTK in English 1136 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 11 (CTK)—"We want to be an organization of youth devoted to our socialist homeland and we are actively participating in all that will contribute to its furhter development", said a report of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Union of Youth, presented by chairman of the union Vasil Mohorita at its conference here today.

The report dealt with the union's share in restructuring and democratization of socialist society and the tasks of the union and its pioneer organization up to the fifth union congress.

"We regard our organization a colleague of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in implementing the program of economic and social restructuring. Czechoslovak youth is that social group which links to the greatest degree its future with restructuring and democratization," Vasil Mohorita stated.

He stressed that the course of restructuring does not correspond with the ideas of young people and mentioned various expressions of incompetence, inconsistency, contrasts between declared intentions and reality, bureaucratism, as well as attitudes of a number of people who cast doubts on the sense and targets of restructuring and democratization in an attempt to face the situation which would expose their shortcomings. Many people for various reasons do not believe that declared and necessary changes will be realized.

"We see the reason of weakened confidence in the fact that an atmosphere of self-satisfaction, sometimes of hiding shortcomings and mistakes and rejecting criticism, has been prevailing in our country for though [as received] a reason for such behaviour was often the conviction that socialism must be defended at all costs", Vasil Mohorita emphasized.

"It is natural that this had an impact on the consciousness of the youth. Despite this fact, it is young people who want to wage a struggle with this way of thinking. That is why we are willing to accept also some temporary unpopular measures as we believe in the ideas of socialist restructuring and democratization".

"We are ready to follow up all that is positive, that has been achieved by the Czechoslovak people during 40 years of the construction of socialism as we can see the stable standard of living, an increase in personal and social consumption, indisputable social certainties", Vasil Mohorita stressed.

Speaking about cooperation between the Socialist Union of Youth and partner organizations abroad, Vasil Mohorita said: "Relations with youth organizations in the socialist countries, built and functioning for many years, cannot be broken in spite of one or dozen different views."

"On the contrary, together with Komsomol, the Free German Youth, Polish unions, Demisz and other unions, we must seek with double efforts the points of contact, a scope where we shall continue to meet and cooperate. One of the ways is the realization of an agreement on cooperation between youth in Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic. Similar agreements are being elaborated with Poland, the Federal Republic of Germany and Austria", Vasil Mohorita said.

Jakes Addresses Conference

AU1511161189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Nov 89 p 3

[Speech by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and head of the delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR National Front, and the CSSR Government, at the statewide conference of the Socialist Youth Union in Prague on 11 November]

[Text] We accepted with pleasure the invitation to attend your conference. We consider it to be an important event not only in the life of the Socialist Youth Union [SSM], but also in the life of our entire society. After all, the young generation constitutes an important social force, which—by its activity, enthusiasm, and feeling for the new—can markedly influence life in our country. Therefore, issues that also concern the life, education, training, and assertion of the young generation are an indispensable part of the policy continuously pursued by the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], the entire National Front, and the socialist state.

Connected with the young is not only the present, but—in particular—the future of the socialist society. Therefore, everything that you will discuss today and

tomorrow, and the conclusions you will adopt for the SSM activity, will be of exceptional importance. From this also arises your great responsibility. In the course of the conference so far, we heard an extensive report and a frank discussion. In the leadership of the party, the National Front, and the state, we have agreed that it will be useful that the SSM Central Committee summarize the suggestions which will resound at the conference and which are of importance to the whole of society, and submit them to the CPCZ Central Committee, the Federal Government, and the National Front Central Committee for assessment .

On the Path Toward Peace

Your conference is being held at the time when many new weighty issues are on the day's agenda, issues in which it is not easy to orient oneself, issues to which, however, one must find correct answers, and concrete and the best possible solutions. What is involved firstly is the broad problem of seeking paths toward ensuring peace, peaceful coexistence, and mutually advantageous cooperation among nations. Today nothing is more urgent than eliminating the danger of a war holocaust, because it would have more-than-catastrophic consequences. If the past world war, unleashed by Hitlerite fascists, who exploited the gross and inexcusable errors in the policy of the Western big powers, cost mankind dozens of millions of dead, and caused immeasurable material damage and the destruction of immense objects of great value created by civilization, then today it would most probably constitute the end of human civilization in general and perhaps even the end of all life on our planet.

Only one path leads to peace—honest negotiations excluding any attempt to achieve unilateral advantages and superiority over the other side, full respect for the will of nations and their yearning to live in peace, for freedom, equality, and social progress. No one can deny that it is, above all, the Soviet Union which by its honorable approach to the questions of peace, disarmament, and cooperation among nations has an increasingly creative effect on the improvement of international relations. At the same time, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that such development goes against the grain of some political circles in the West and that they are trying to prevent it.

Also we, the socialist Czechoslovakia, are contributing with our initiatives to the relaxation of tension in international relations; and not only in the sphere of foreign policy. We are markedly—by 10 percent—reducing expenditures for defense and the Army's military equipment. We are counting on its further reduction, and reckon with shortening the basic military service to 18 months, which also is in harmony with the SSM's suggestions. Of course, all this must not lead to underestimating the defense of the fatherland, to reliably ensuring our security. A responsible attitude toward the defense of the fatherland and toward duties which arise from it is, and will always remain, the manifestation of socialist patriotism.

Together with the issues of peace and the creation of a healthy atmosphere of understanding and cooperation among nations, we also are greatly concerned with the issues of the further development of socialism. Under the inspiring influence of the Soviet Union and its Leninist party, which was the first to comprehend the need for a critical glance at that development, of late retarded by stagnation and phenomena of crisis, we have also begun with all responsibility to ponder the causes of our economy's slowdown at the end of the 1970's and in the course of the 1980's. It showed that these causes have not only an objective, but also a subjective character, because urgent problems both in the economic and the social sphere were not being resolved effectively and in time. Stagnant waters had come into being in many places, words had been at variance with actions, we had been succumbing to self-complacency.

Changes Stem From Our Conditions

It was necessary to change that situation and, at the same time, rise to the present challenges, to the new needs of the development of socialist society. Therefore, the CPCZ determined the program for economic and social restructuring. It was worked out and discussed at a number of CPCZ Central Committee sessions, and one can say that it has met with support and understanding. It envisages fundamental changes not only in the sphere of the national economy and in the economic mechanism, but also in all spheres of our society's life. A broad democratization of our political system is the fundamental requirement. In this, and this is important, we proceed from our conditions, traditions, possibilities, and needs.

We have stressed on more than one occasion that the purpose of restructuring is to achieve a new quality in the socialist society's development, in the socialist system more distinctly demonstrating its advantages and potential in the interest of better and more fairly satisfying people's needs. We are convinced about the correctness of the path we have embarked upon. Restructuring is not—as some critics are trying to spread it in our country and abroad—an expression of the exhaustion or collapse of the ideals of socialism. On the contrary, it is the evidence of their viability, their ability to react to new demands, to overcome everything what has become outdated and retards the upsurge of socialist society. We again strongly realize this fact in the light of the legacy of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the 72d anniversary of which we are currently commemorating.

The path on which we have embarked will be in no way be an easy one, and therefore we must not succumb to the illusion that it will be possible to quickly achieve the objectives which we have set to ourselves. Restructuring is a complex, demanding, and, at the same time, contradictory process. Like during all great revolutionary changes, many contradictory domestic and international influences and phenomena are and will be appearing in it. These influences, all the difficulties we come across, can only be overcome through a common endeavor,

endurance, well-thought-out procedure and, in particular, through responsible work by all citizens. We cannot make headway without the understanding and support of the overwhelming majority of our people.

We are achieving restructuring on firm foundations created during the construction of socialism, which has given much to our people. It is enough to realize how the situation of the working man has changed, what extensive social and life security the socialist system provides to our people.

Without ignoring the existing weak spots, and there are quite a few of them, our society has a developed material-technical base at its disposal. One of the most convincing proofs of the strength of our socialist system are the far reaching changes in our agriculture—and not only in the development of the manpower and production relations. There also have been immense changes in the social and cultural standard of the life in the countryside.

The equal, fraternal coexistence and harmonious cooperation of our nations and nationalities is one of the great accomplishments of socialism, which we must constantly strengthen. This is the fundamental prerequisite for the stability of the state.

The National Front is a reliable base for the democratization of our society, which we approach with full responsibility. We want to consistently overcome the shortcomings which have afflicted the National Front in the past, and in this respect to rely upon our democratic traditions and on the positive, active affinity for socialism of all organizations of the National Front, in which also the SSM has great prestige and plays an important role. We are of the opinion that our political system represented by the National Front is good and nothing prevents it from developing itself fully and democratically in the interest of making use of all of our small country's tremendous economic, political, and cultural potential.

We Will Not Permit the Disparagement of the Values of Socialism

When viewing the preceding stages of the socialist development, we do not conceal that we did not do quite a few things well, and that in quite a few respects there had not been results corresponding to the wishes which our people and, especially, the young generation regarding the socialist system. From a critical assessment of the past, we are drawing the proper conclusions and lessons for our further advancement. However, we will not permit the disparagement or even denial of the values of socialism and thus also the work of the preceding generations. We want to consistently cleanse the socialist economic and political system of everything that has become outdated, that retards a really dynamic development in all spheres of the life of our society, development that corresponds to its needs and also potential.

Your conference correctly stresses that the success of the economic and social restructuring depends on the activation of creative forces, on a broad application of the wisdom and energy of all strata of citizens, including the young generation. This necessarily presumes a comprehensive intensification of socialist democracy, creation of a broad scope for the realization of the socialist pluralism of interests, crystallization of views, exchange of experience, correct attitude—especially by ranking personnel—to criticism aimed at the rectification of shortcomings and the application of creative initiatives.

We are for a sincere, honest dialogue with all who want to seek solutions and unite their forces in constructive work in the interest in our country's further socialist development on the basis of the Constitution. We regard this as being the fundamental prerequisite for people gaining trust in the policy of the Communist Party, the National Front, and the socialist state, for an increased citizens' participation in making decisions concerning important issues of society's life. One has to count on the fact that expressed opinions might be conflicting and even contradictory. However, one thing should be clear: Dialogue cannot be conducted anonymously or by means of street demonstrations, the purpose of which is to provoke tension in society and disturb public order; with various appeals and the help of some Western information media to attack our social system, and under the motto "democratization" to strive, in fact, for departing from the path of socialist development.

Youth Have Full Rights and Responsibilities

Your approach to restructuring is demonstrated by the very fact that you have convened this conference, by the policy document that has been delivered, and by the motto under which the conference is taking place. From this stems not only a great responsibility, but also a great opportunity. This opportunity must be used and projected into an active attitude to life and work, and into real accomplishments.

Young people are an integral part of society with full rights as well as responsibilities. They cannot remain solely at the receiving end of social largess, but as far as their strength and possibilities permit, they must contribute to society's development. The recommended reduction to 18 years of the age limit for passive election rights to national committees—as the draft of the new Constitution suggests—pursues an increased participation of young people in the management and administration of public affairs.

Most of you are preparing for your future occupations; many of you are already taking part in the creation of material or spiritual values, and participating in running social affairs. You are also encountering a number of problems in life, and as young people you have your own problems and worries. There are quite a few of them, and it is right that you are openly talking about them here. We will have to seek jointly for ways to resolve them faster and more efficiently. A number of necessary steps

is already under way. Some of them were discussed at the joint session of the Federal Government and the Secretariat of the SSM Central Committee. This, above all, concerns housing and financial support for young families with children, and other issues. We are also preparing a draft law which concerns the young generation and which you will discuss. Its aim is to integrate the policy of state provision for children and young people with the responsibility and role of young people in social affairs into a single comprehensive document. Every generation has an obligation to provide for its successors, and in the years to come, this task will fall to you, too. Another step designed to tackle the issues of the life and work of the young generation is the socioeconomic program for the next 5-year plan and the outlook through the year 2005. A great deal, however, hinges on whether we manage to generate the necessary financial and material resources and use these economically. This also applies with respect to greater opportunities for young people to travel abroad. We will endeavor to send many more of you abroad to gain practical experience than has been the case so far. We understand these and other aspirations of our young generation and we sincerely intend to fulfill them. At the same time, though, we also must raise our expectations of young people in their work, studies, upbringing, behavior, and civic discipline. This might not sound popular, but is a truth proven in life. We must not be satisfied with mediocrity, but must combat uniformity and egalitarianism.

For example, the demand to better reward education and qualifications is correct. However, the achievement of this or that level of education or qualifications cannot be by itself some sort of a voucher for advantages, but an obligation. One must pay for work, its quality, for efficiency and performance, regardless of age and sex. We need more educated young people with knowledge and ability, who want to make the full use of their abilities and knowledge in practical life. That, understandably, applies to the whole of society.

We hold a similar view of health care, a sector with which we still cannot be satisfied. In view of the great importance of this question, the central party and state bodies have addressed it several times lately. A package of measures aimed at improving the care for people's health has been approved. One of the most important issues is prevention. We know that much must be improved in the health sphere's activity. At the same time, however, we must not close our eyes to how many people, including young people, literally endanger their health through incorrect behavior, alcoholic beverages, smoking, and drugs. An integral part of the health care is sports and physical education. A good opportunity for this also is the nationwide Spartakiade, which will be held next year. The SSM has a broad scope for activity in all these respects.

Opportunity For the Most Able

Comrades, I would like to assure you that our Communist Party sees as one of its most important tasks to create better conditions for young people's training and occupations, and to promote the most able of them to managerial posts. Young people have a great opportunity to assert themselves in connection with the economic reform which is integrally linked with the development and application of science and technology, an area which is very close to the young generation. This involves several new advanced branches, such as electronics, cybernetics, computer technology, or biochemistry, in which overwhelmingly young people work. They have the prerequisites and education; no one can replace them.

On this opportunity I would like to express my appreciation for your activity when introducing the Account of Youth's Initiative or founding clubs of scientific-technical activity and the like. However, much more has to be done for developing among the young people the interest in getting to know and assimilating modern science and technology and their application in practice. It is precisely in this respect that the present young generation can make its own particular imprint on the further development of our society.

A great deal of attention on the part of the public and, naturally, also of the young people, is currently concentrated on the problem of shaping and protecting the environment. As you know, the recent 15th CPCZ Central Committee session, and before that the session of the National Front Central Committee and its organizations, addressed this. I am convinced that you will not only support the adopted conclusions, but that you also will contribute to their realization. The evidence of your active attitude toward the issues connected with the environment are successful projects such as the Brontosaurus, the Tree of Life, the developing Ekofond, and others, which should be further improved and their effectiveness increased, so that they would even more contribute to the overall change in attitude toward nature and to ensure that ecological criteria are respected and applied consistently in all economic and social activity.

We believe that the overwhelming majority of our young people have the zest and resolve to achieve something, to wrestle with problems, live honestly, demonstrate steadfast character, do honest work for themselves and the socialist society. The situation everywhere, and this includes the young generation, is however not as good as we would wish. One cannot overlook nor underestimate manifestations of selfishness, parasitism, vandalism, frivolous attitude toward life, lack of respect for older people, and other negative phenomena which are at variance with the moral principles. It is correct that these questions were critically discussed here as well. It is very important that young people themselves stand up against such abuses. Naturally, the older generation must serve as example for them in this endeavor. Questions both of the spiritual and moral life of society are becoming significant. The standard of behavior, the purity of relationships between boys and girls, and a responsible attitude toward family and the joint upbringing of children are an integral part of these questions.

Another thing that has been stressed on many occasions is the great importance of socialist patriotism, one of whose intrinsic aspects is to foster respect for the progressive humanist traditions of our nations, to familiarize people with the path our people have travelled, and its revolutionary historical continuity. We cannot forget the many sacrifices that had to be made in order to restore our national freedom and independent statehood, nor the great efforts and selflessness of previous generations that have given shape to our socialist life today. Developing national pride, strengthening patriotic and international sentiments are extremely important tasks to which you ought to give greater priority in the SSM's activity. A love of one's motherland and deep feelings for home are very important to everyone for finding their right bearings in life.

SSM Is Recognized Spokesman For the Young Generation

In the 20 years of its existence, the SSM, as the successor of the Czechoslovak Youth Union, has accomplished much that benefits our society and the young generation. Thousands of honest and dedicated citizens in our fatherland, many of whom hold important positions in society, have grown up in its ranks. We are convinced that out of your ranks will emerge young people who do not use SSM membership as a way to gaining advantages, but who are good workers, competent managers, and will be able to organize the work of collectives. This is what our society needs more now than ever.

Your united youth organization is a great achievement not only of the young generation, but of the whole of society. This is affirmed by the entire history of the children's and youth movement in our country. This unity must be better utilized, of course. You yourselves are saying here that not everything is in correct in your work, that there are many shortcomings in it, including formalism and ostentatiousness, and that it is necessary to democratize the internal life of your union, and increase the share of its members in the union's work. You are right to call for resolutely doing away with the formalism that kills initiative and creativity, for inventing and applying forms and methods of work which will enhance attractiveness of the SSM. It is important that the SSM is recognized as the spokesman for the young generation, that it stimulates its work and social committment, helps it to prepare well for life, but also satisfies the various interests, hobbies, and needs of young people, which arise from people of different ages and professions, and who have different life experience and from different knowledge.

The SSM affiliates in its ranks practically half our young people, and therefore it is also important for you to show greater initiative in reaching out to young people as a whole. The union's prestige will grow provided you know not only how the working-class youth live, what kind of problems and worries young people have at their work sites, but also how you will succeed in resolving these problems with the managements of enterprises, with autonomous trade union bodies, and organizations. The same thing should apply also in other sectors—cooperatives, schools, hostels, colleges, and elsewhere. In that respect you can count on our full support.

The Preparations For the CPCZ Congress Is the Affair Of the Whole Of Society

As you know, the CPCZ is preparing for its 18th Congress, at which we want to critically assess the achieved results and determine the further course in the process of restructuring and democratization in the interest of accelerating the economic development and ensuring the further growth of the people's standard of living. We want the preparations for the Congress to become the affair of the whole of society, since the issues which will be discussed do not concern the Communists alone. Therefore, we will submit the fundamental Congress documents—the draft principles of the CPCZ Program and of the Main Directions For Social and Economic Development in the Ninth 5-Year Plan and the Outlook Through the Year 2005—for public discussion. The drafts of the Constitutions of the CSSR, the Czech Socialist Republic, and the Slovak Socialist Republic also will be submitted for public discussion. We want our citizens to take a stand on all those drafts, voice their suggestions and recommendations, so that these documents will become the expression of our people's experience and will. Your organization, all young people, will also have good opportunity have their say on the present and on the future development. The important thing is not to waste this opportunity.

Restructuring's success depends in many respects also on the Czechoslovak youth, on the work of your organization. Your knowledge, skills, ideas, zeal, your attitude toward work, the love for the fatherland will have a say in this success. Your conference will certainly adopt conclusions which will benefit children, the youth, and the whole of society. I assure you that they will meet with the full support of the Communist Party, the entire National Front, our socialist state.

Youth, socialism, progress, and peace belong indivisibly together. The entire history of revolutionary struggles shows that implementing socialist ideals in life requires great effort. Past generations of young people made considerable sacrifices for these ideals. We have faith in our young generation, we are counting on its creative abilities. We are convinced that you will put even greater initiative, effort, and zeal into working for the noble aims of socialism.

On behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Central Committee of the National Front, the President and the people of the CSSR, and on my own behalf I wish you from the bottom of my heart many successes in your further work. Restructuring and our fatherland need you.

Jakes Answers Questions

AU1511084589 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 13 Nov 89 p 2

[Report on question-answer session with Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, and statewide conference of the Socialist Youth Union delegates: "This Involves Strengthening Socialism"—in Prague on 12 November]

[Text] In his reply, M. Jakes praised the openness, businesslike character, and wide range of topics discussed at the conference. These topics concern real and existing problems, problems that are being discussed and answered in a creative manner. I want to stress once more that all these problems will be considered—as I said yesterday—in the appropriate party and state organs as well as in the National Front organs, said M. Jakes. This discussion provides us with an image of the youth union's activity, of its intrinsic problems, of young people's problems, and of what concerns them. I would particularly like to emphasize that a positive attitude toward socialism as well as support for our society's restructuring have been exhibited here. I think this is the main thing and the vital thing. I also want to set one thing straight—the members of the delegation from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, the CSSR National Front, and the CSSR Government are also the representatives of all the other political parties.

The problems contained in the report delivered by Comrade Mohorita as well as in the discussion are at the center of the party's and the state organs' attention, said M. Jakes later. In essence, this involves the practical implementation of the process of restructuring and democratization. This also involves a policy of social justice and a new approach toward social consumption in connection with the subsidies policy. As far as the housing problem is concerned—including rent and management of housing resources—the proposals are marked by the spirit of the discussion here, including the sale of houses and the introduction of a housing register in Czechoslovakia so that it will be impossible to deal with this matter irresponsibly. The CSSR Federal Assembly will discuss this. There is also the issue of social policy toward young married couples and young mothers; a draft of changes to the taxation policy is under preparation. There were also your comments that the leaders of the pioneer groups, unlike teachers, do not have 6 weeks of vacation. This issue has been politically resolved and will be dealt with, said M. Jakes. A topic of widespread discussion at the conference, and not only here, is the issue of remuneration. I have one comment to make concerning this: There can be many and various regulations, revolutionary ones and not so revolutionary ones. However, if there is no courage in the enterprises and elsewhere to thoroughly introduce differentiation, then no government, or even the party Central Committee, will make provision for this.

We completely agree with the views expressed on the struggle against speculators and parasites. We are proceeding against them and we are also seeking other effective courses of action. Of course, these phenomena are effected by the situation in the national economy, especially by the problems that exist in supplies. Shortages are always used by various people who see an easy way to get rich in them.

There is a question whether we can say that there is support for the party's policy in our country. I would like to say that support for party policy does not mean everyone of us is satisfied with everything that is happening. There are enough unresolved problems. Everyone is personally dissatisfied with something—something is unfulfilled; not enough is being earned or the housing situation is bad; services do not operate as they should; there is no suitable cadre policy, and so on. In a certain respect, everyone is right about this. But the decisive thing is whether people support the fundamental orientation of our policy. I think our people are beginning to understand the policy of restructuring and democratization. The majority sees in it the hope that a number of problems will be eliminated and that socialism will be strengthened in our country. The party's policy pursues the aim of increasing our country's economic potential, raising the standard of living, strengthening social certainties, asserting social justice, and implementing a peaceful policy. Said M. Jakes: Who could not agree with this? Only whoever does not want socialism. It is something else that not everyone will agree with a specific matter or with the determination of methods for a solution. This is a question of dialogue and discussion. Therefore, all the fundamental documents that are being prepared will be submitted to public discussion. I think it would be correct to consider putting the housing bill forward for discussion because people are concerned by this.

M. Jakes discussed establishing unity in society. He said that when changes are taking place in its development, it is always necessary to reestablish unity on a new basis corresponding to the requirements of the time. He commented that after World War II, when man's fundamental and essential requirements were being dealt with, egalitarianism was accommodated. A policy of egalitarianism cannot apply today; this policy had historical limitations. To some extent, people identify socialism with egalitarianism and not with the fact that everyone should live according to how he works. We have developed socialism with the aim of providing for people's social guarantees and a life of peace. This has been achieved. We are also pursuing this on a new and higher level with the implementation of revolutionary restructuring. No one has submitted any other specific program for the development of socialism on a purely socialist basis. Behind some people's various opinions are the ideas of returning factories to private ownership, of parcelling out the united agricultural cooperatives and state farms, of renewing unemployment, and of abolishing the existing social guarantees. I think that anyone

attempting this would come up against resistance not only from communists but also from the majority of our people. We are involved in increasing the efficiency of the national economy, in intensifying social justice, in more widespread democracy in the interest of people's active participation in managing society and in utilizing their spiritual and physical potential to satisfy their needs. Of course, we made mistakes in the past. We have admitted them. However, many people are trying to use these mistakes against the party and are trying to discredit it. Not only that—they are attempting to discredit all those who thoroughly defend socialism and the policy of restructuring. Comrade Miroslav Stepan is here. According to them, he should actually be in prison because they claim that he received DM200,000 in bribes for the construction of hotels in Prague. Here is the answer: Comrade Stepan is not a crook. This is a blatant lie.

In another part of his replies to questions, Milos Jakes turned to the implementation of the party's leading role in society. It is possible that some people might not like the word leading. It is the avant garde role of the party in society that is striving to move the world forward. This involves the correct implementation of the party's leading role. Sometimes in our party there is a too sectarian approach toward people and problems and toward their resolution. The party does not control the Socialist Youth Union [SSM]. The youth union is drafting its own program which, of course, proceeds from the party's political aims, socialism, and the needs of the young generation. The SSM Central Committee itself decided that today's conference will take place under the slogan: Along the Path of Restructuring and Democratization for the Further Development of Socialist Society. This is the slogan of the majority of our people and not only of our progressive young generation. Our party's interest lies in ensuring that all young communists actively work in the union in order to implement the Socialist Youth Union's program. The Socialist Youth Union operates on the basis of the National Front and is responsible for its work among the younger generation.

In reply to a question whether our state is based on the rule of law, Milos Jakes said: It is a state based on the rule of law because there are valid laws in our country. Not all of them are perfect or correspond to society's development. It is necessary to alter and adapt them and, thus, to strengthen the character of the state based on the rule of law. The very process of restructuring and democratization creates the need to improve in a number of spheres the state based on the rule of law. For example, in the draft of the new Constitution, the establishment of a constitutional court is being reckoned with. New criminal laws and other measures in the sphere of law are being considered. Czechoslovakia is not a state where the law is wrong.

The delegates also asked a question about cadre policy. Cadre policy, said M. Jakes, will probably continue to be subject to great changes because the generation that set out upon the road of building socialism after the war is retiring. We have specific shortcomings in cadre policy. There has been stability in cadres for too long and the middle generation has not been able to make itself felt. It is necessary to introduce the new young generation into the process of change. We have to go along a road of specific experimentation in cadre policy in order that people undergo a specific stage of preparation. We have defended cadre restructuring and we will continue with it. We are of the opinion that at the top, whether in the party, state administration, social organizations, the economy, or other sectors there should be people who are well prepared, who have enough energy, and who are capable of struggling for the implementation of demanding goals. Cadre work must be imperative and should accomplish the continuous supplementation of cadres. There is no policy of stagnation in cadres, said Milos Jakes.

Adamec Answers Questions

AU1411155189 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 13 Nov 89 p 2

[Report on question-answer session with Ladislav Adamec, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium and CSSR premier, and statewide conference of the Socialist Youth Union delegates in Prague on 12 November]

[Text] In replying to questions, comments, and ideas raised during the debate at the National Conference of the Socialist Youth Union [SSM], CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec said that he regards the absolute majority of what was discussed at the SSM National Conference as correct. "A young person has his entire life before him, he grapples with difficulties and needs help," L. Adamec stressed. In his address he endorsed the view that young people should be charged with responsible political, economic, and public posts. He informed the plenum about his agreement with Vasil Mohorita, chairman of the SSM Central Committee, that the conclusions of the conference would be considered at a joint session of the SSM Central Committee Secretariat and the Federal Government.

On the solution of the housing problem he said that this year the Government complied with the proposals of the SSM Central Committee Secretariat and decided to provide grants of Kcs150,000, plus an additional Kcs150,000 worth of credits under very advantageous terms, in support of individual housing construction. Practical life has shown, however, that young builders are having problems with the acquisition of building plots and with purchasing building materials and that infrastructure for individual construction is also lacking. "But not everything can be done at once," L. Adamec remarked and explained that the construction of large investment projects will be cut back, which should improve supplies of cement and other needed materials.

National committees must raise the speed of allocating building plots, to which would-be builders themselves can contribute.

Replying to comments concerning the need to check how the housing stock is utilized, he agreed that there is disarray in housing policy. However, nothing stands in the way of unused apartments being made available to young people. "Come up with an initiative," L. Adamec challenged the delegates and his proposal was rewarded with applause.

Concerning differences between rents in state-owned and cooperative apartments he said that at present the Czechoslovak economy cannot afford any rent cuts. "We subsidize rents to the tune of Kcs5 to Kcs6 billion a year and any downward adjustment is out of the question," he stressed. He provided information on a government-sponsored draft law that will permit the sale of apartments into personal ownership under strictly set terms. Responding to comments about the need for a public discussion on the principles of housing policy, L. Adamec said that the Federal Government will welcome standpoints on the whole set of problems connected with housing.

He described as warranted the objections that had been raised about the prices of children's clothing, furniture, electronics, and passenger cars. Couples with children find the prices of clothing and shoes for children expensive. So far we have not succeeded in compelling the production sphere to extend the range of lower price products. In view of the economic independence of enterprises, we will have to deal with this by means of the policy of subsidies. Compared with the world, electronics, too, is very expensive. This is because we trail behind the world significantly in this sphere. The inadequacies of the domestically manufactured range of products are made up for by imports, which are not cheap. This is also why the retail prices of electronic goods are high. "We forsee an adjustment of the turnover tax levied on these products, which should make them more easily accessible," the premier said. "There will be some 135,000 passenger cars on the market this year and the same number is foreseen also for next year. For the time being it is impossible to reduce their price, however, because the production costs are too high."

Ladislav Adamec also assumed a stand on comments concerning the policy on subsidies. "The government subsidizes the prices of various products to the tune of approximately Kcs90 billion a year, of which agricultural products and foodstuffs account for Kcs60 billion. In the long run, we want to adjust the prices of agricultural products and of foodstuffs so that the prices of industrial products can be reduced. One cannot subsidize foodstuffs to such a degree forever. The consumption of meat, for instance, already exceeds 95 kg per capita a year and is so high that it even has an adverse impact on the health of the people." He described the present tax system as unsuitable and informed the delegates about preparations for comprehensive changes in this sphere.

He confirmed the correctness of the comment that the wholesale price of electricity paid by industrial enterprises is too low. "Electricity and coal are not being used economically, but are being squandered," Ladislav Adamec underscored. "This is why we propose an adjustment of the wholesale prices. We must, however, proceed with circumspection so that the impact of this measure does not find its way into retail prices and does not affect consumers," he stressed and added that consumption of energy in Czechoslovakia is up to 40 percent higher than in the world (FRG, Japan). "Respect for energy and coal in our country is virtually nonexistent."

He also agreed with the criticism of the internal market, the supplies to which are insufficient. According to the premier, one of the causes of the current imbalance is the high purchasing power of the people—people hold Kcs70 billion in cash and have an additional Kcs280 billion deposited in savings banks. "In preparing for next year's plan, the Czechoslovak economy is faced with many difficulties—the sector of education requires Kcs32 billion, the health care sector Kcs34 billion, expenditures on culture amount to Kcs6 billion, and outlays on social security Kcs99 billion. The government expects to spend Kcs30 billion on the creation and protection of the environment in the Ninth 5-Year Plan, but the actual needs are estimated at Kcs120 billion," the premier explained.

"The government is aware of the problems, is not content with the present state of affairs, and does not yield to self-satisfaction," L. Adamec said. "There is no shortage of criticism of the government's work. Justified criticism helps us, but unjust criticism lies heavy upon us. We flexibly consider, and deal with, individual shortcomings. We are not succeeding in changing everything at once. But even here there must be a correct division of labor—the Federal Government cannot meet its tasks without the active approach of the governments of the two republics, of national committees at all levels, and of National Front organizations. I agree with the criticism that we have not managed to do away with bureaucracy and outdated regulations. An immense struggle is involved here. I had no idea that the bureaucratic approaches of the 'apparatuses' have such stamina and vitality. They are almost indestructible," the federal premier stressed at the close of his address.

'Doubts' Expressed at Conference

AU1611185489 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Nov 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Skepticism Does Not Suit Young People"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The course of the recent nationwide conference of the Socialist Youth Union [on 11-12 November in Prague], including the approval of its standpoints, was anything but smooth. However, only a person who until now has been attending the ritualistic fora of the Socialist Youth Union, at which only a few conflicts transpired, could be disenchanted with some extremist views voiced, in particular, at the thematic workshops. A person who is in daily, informal contact

with young people could not not be surprised by the stances of a number of delegates. Many views transcended the framework of the socialist pluralism of views which our youth organization invokes. However, the majority of the participants in the conference let it be clearly known that the Socialist Youth Union will remain s o c i a l i s t [published with spaces], and that it was and is a firm component of the National Front, which recognizes the Communist Party's vanguard mission in our society.

Casting in doubt the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the upbringing of the members of the Socialist Youth Union in the spirit of scientific weltanschauung and Marxism-Leninism, and the compromising attitude toward forces which conduct "dialogue" by means of demonstrations under anticommunist slogans became the subject of some speeches by young intellectuals, especially those from Prague. Certainly the situation of the young people of Prague, who are exposed to a concentrated pressure of hostile forces, is considerably different from that elsewhere in Bohemia, Moravia, or Slovakia. The work of the youth organization is more difficult. However, because of that there is no need to throw in the towel. Distrust and skepticism: These are the main things on which our opponents have been constructing their plans. [passage omitted]

Conference Ends

LD1311014489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Excerpts] The nationwide conference of the Socialist Youth Union ended in Prague today with the adoption of final documents. The delegates approved a report of the Central Committee of the union presented at the opening of the deliberations by Comrade Vasil Mohorita. In the adopted document "Our program via the path of restructuring and democratization towards the further development of the socialist Czechoslovakia" it is stressed that the sense of the work in the union has to dwell in uniting all the youth who want to take an active part in the development of our homeland. [passage omitted]

In his concluding speech, Comrade Vasil Mohorita stressed that the nationwide conference of the Socialist Youth Union outlined the main aims of the future of the union so that it can indeed fulfil the present needs and interests of children and youth.

After the nationwide conference of the Socialist Youth Union, the Central Commitee [CC] of the Union met in Prague today. It noted the fact that the open and critical atmosphere and exactingness towards its own young pioneers and Youth Union work were characteristic of the conference deliberations. It also documented the determination of young people to contribute actively to the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the democratization of the whole society.

The Central Committee also approved a resolution of the nationwide conference which, among other things, orders the chairman of the Central Committee of the Union to discuss results of the nationwide conference with state organs, political parties, and organs and organizations of the National Front. Delegates of the Union also adopted other documents and, in a resolution, recommended that the Central Committee of the Union convene the 5th Congress of the youth organization in the first half of 1991. They also proposed to set up working groups for the drafting of new statutes and program of the Socialist Youth Union.

Hrivnak Presents Slovak Government Report

AU1311104289 Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 18 Oct 89 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "Foundations of Lasting Prosperity; from the Report of the Premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic on the Fulfillment of the Tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan and the Tasks Connected With its Fulfillment," delivered by Pavel Hrivnak, premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic, at the 15th meeting of the Slovak National Council in Bratislava on 17 October]

[Text] In November 1988, the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic [SSR] rendered account of the fulfillment of its policy statement of 4 July 1986 and briefed the Slovak National Council on the further course of action and measures to be pursued in implementing the tasks laid down by the 17th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Congress and the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Congress.

Today, 1 year later—similar to the practice of the Federal Government—I would like to inform you deputies about how we safeguard the key tasks of the social, economic, and cultural development and how we want to tackle them henceforth.

In 1988, branches administered by the SSR Government generated profits exceeding the plan by Kcs1.5 billion, and the dynamism of their growth was substantially higher than the statewide average. This year's targets in generating profits were fulfilled in these branches almost 50 percent in the first ½ of the year, which creates prerequisites for the overfulfillment of the annual task by Kcs1 billion.

Last year and, in particular, this year, progress has been made in the profitability of exports. Compared with the plan, exporting enterprises of the Slovak industry as a whole and of branches administered by the SSR Government have exceeded the export margin indicator 3.5 to 4 percent with regard to exports to socialist states and up to 8 percent with regard to exports to nonsocialist states.

In the conduct of enterprises' economic affairs, the tendency is gaining in strength to use primarily retained earnings. The volume of operational credits taken has declined roughly 4 percent compared with last year. The proportion of long-term credits has declined and that of

medium-term credits has increased. The repayment of investment credits exceeded the volume of newly taken credits and the ability of enterprises to pay their bills has, on the whole, improved.

In the economic sphere, the effort is making itself felt to meet tasks with a more economical labor input. The work force of state economic organizations in the first ½ of 1989 declined by 4,500 compared with the same period last year.

Despite these positive results and despite the fact that we will reach the planned generation of national income this year, the dynamism of its growth will be lower than in the preceding years and will also be lower than provided for this year in the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

This is the case because, compared with the Eighth 5-Year Plan, the output of enterprises administered by the Ministry of General Engineering will be Kcs10 billion lower. The problems which surfaced in this branch in 1988 and the effort at their conceptual solution prompted the SSR Government to seize the initiative and discuss these questions with CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec during his visit to Slovakia in November 1988. Following up on these discussions, the question of alternative production to offset shortfalls in the production of special technology is being dealt with intensively, in cooperation with federal central agencies.

A solution of principle is being prepared as regards the production program of the BAZ [Bratislava Automobile Works] Bratislava state enterprise, a decision on which will be made by the CSSR Government in the very near future. A set of measures has already been approved for the first years of the Ninth 5-Year Plan to markedly increase the production of consumer durables such as refrigerators and freezers, top-load washing machines, electric stoves, enamelled bathtubs, and faucets.

In the electronics industry, we are making efforts to tackle the production programs of Tesla Vrable, MEZ Michalovce, ZVT [Computer Technology Works] Banska Bystrica and Namestovo, as well as the acceleration of capital construction in Chirana Humenne and Elektromont Kosice.

Speaking about planned structural changes, Comrade Hrivnak stressed that industry administered by the SSR Government is succeeding, on the whole, in meeting the targets as far as the production volume and deliveries for the domestic market, exports, and capital construction are concerned. Despite this fact, demand on the domestic market is not fully covered by supply, in terms of quantity but primarily in terms of required quality and variety. In the interest of an expeditious solution to present but also long-term needs, the government has approved a program for the modernization of the textile, clothing, leather-working, and footwear industries. Under this program, which is already being implemented, the SSR premier continued, Kcs1.2 billion in hard currency has been appropriated for imports of machinery from the nonsocialist states alone. In the long term, we also want to meet the needs of the domestic market by building joint enterprises in developing states with our stake in their ownership.

We have made progress in tackling some bottlenecks—the construction of a paper plant began in Ruzomberok in 1988, which will allow the processing of pulp into high-quality squared paper. This year we will import machinery for the production of toilet paper, which will be put into operation in the first ½ of 1990. To meet the needs of comprehensive housing construction and individual builders for building and joinery products in the coming years and in the long term, we are examining the possibilities, together with the Federal Government, of providing foreign exchange to cover the imports of necessary machinery and equipment.

In the wood-processing industry we also evaluate as positive the fact that the unfavorable fulfillment of tasks in the initial years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan has been partially overcome. On the basis of the measures taken, the situation began to improve in 1988. A positive trend also continued in the first half of this year. Weak spots and problems still exist, of course. They concern mainly the cost-intensiveness, the attainment of projected capacity [at new production plants], and the quality of products.

At the end of this 5-year plan, the whole industry is facing the key task of renewing its dynamism and using its potential to meet the needs of the population and the national economy. We are therefore trying to speed up the restructuring of the production programs of engineering enterprises. It is natural that the speed of this solution will depend on the clarification of the conditions of international cooperation. We are also taking steps to bring about a turnaround in putting new facilities into operation, in the start-up of production, and in the attainment of the planned technical and economic specifications. After all, as a result of the nonfulfillment of this task last year and in the first ½ of this year, 16 industrial facilities designated as mandatory tasks remain to be handed over to their users by the end of 1989.

We appreciate the fact, Comrade Hrivnak went on to say, that the results of the agriculture-food industry complex in the Eighth 5-Year Plan are a factor in the stabilization in the development of the national economy. The task of securing self-sufficiency in foodstuffs is being successfully implemented. The plan of agricultural production for the first 4 years of the 5-year plan will be fulfilled 100.7 percent.

Particularly important is the fact that the planned production of cereal crops for the first 4 years of the 5-year plan will be exceeded by approximately 900,000 tonnes. Favorable results have also been achieved in the production of oil-bearing crops, pulses, and bulk feed.

The production of sugar beets and potatoes continues to trail behind the plan, however. Since the beginning of the 5-year plan, the production of sugar beets is 14 percent and the production of potatoes 12 percent in arrears. The

lower-than-planned production of sugar beets and potatoes has been caused by the shrinkage of the area sown with these crops, by the failure to reach the planned per-hectare yields, as well as by great harvest losses. In 1989, we managed to halt the decline in the area under sugar beets and potatoes by providing supplementary payments as an incentive to grow them. In spite of this, even this year the production of sugar beets will fall 100,000 tonnes (4.8 percent) and the production of potatoes 286,000 tonnes (26 percent) short of the plan. We will be short of approximately 40,000-50,000 tonnes of potatoes. We are taking steps to cover these needs from the retained resources of agricultural enterprises, through transfers between the republics, and, if need be, through imports. We critically evaluate the fact that the Department of Agriculture has not done enough to secure a sufficient production of potatoes—particularly by failing to provide high-quality seed potatoes—so that we would not have to come across this chronic problem any longer.

To make a more efficient use of feed, we intend to increase the proportion of albuminous components in feed mixtures. In this respect we see a chance in the expansion of cooperation with the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in the growing of soybeans. The SSR Ministry of Agriculture and Food is already implementing an agreement on cooperation in the production of soybeans on 30,000 hectares in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The existence of relatively good fodder has been positively reflected in animal production results. We are now already exceeding the meat consumption planned for the last year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. In view of consumers' increased demand, the government this year decided that in accordance with the fodder potential and the number of animals for slaughter, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food should ensure meat deliveries to the domestic market in excess of the level set by the plan. There exist realistic prerequisites for the procurement of animals for slaughter (including poultry) to be exceeded by up to 30,000 tonnes by the end of the year.

Just as with agricultural production, the food industry, too, exceeded its production by Kcs0.6 billion in 4 years, and the deliveries of agricultural-food products to the domestic market will be exceeded by Kcs1 billion. On the other hand, public demand regarding the choice of meat and dairy products and many types of durable bakery products is not being satisfied. In order to resolve the aforementioned problems, we are organizing the aforementioned increased meat production and its deliveries to the domestic market, in Sered a bakery is being modernized, and in Senica and Velky Krtis dairies are being built.

In the past period, certain progress was achieved as regards resolving the losses made by enterprises of the agricultural-food complex. At the beginning of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, 17 percent of the united agricultural cooperatives and state farms were lagging; by the end of 1988 it was only 8.8 percent.

Views have cropped up about the need to siphon off resources from agricultural enterprises as early as this year. These views had been rejected and the entire problem will only be assessed on the basis of a comprehensive analysis of the effects of the economic rules at the beginning of next year at the earliest.

We are aware of the fact that in the agricultural-food complex there exists a considerable unused potential as regards reducing production costs, harvest losses, losses which arise in the course of handling, storing, and processing of products. Therefore, the government has charged the minister of agriculture and food with the task of seeing to it that the conceptual measures adopted in this respect are updated and, in particular, ensured in enterprises' economic plans.

In the next part, Comrade Hrivnak was critical when assessing the fulfillment of tasks in capital construction, as well as the fact that of the 14 projects planned to be finished in the first half- year this year, only 2 were finished.

The tasks in comprehensive housing construction, ecological projects and projects having social character are being insufficiently realized.

He said that in order to improve the present situation and create conditions for good planning of investments in the coming years, the government has decided to carry out quarterly checks of the realization of the most important investment projects on the deputy premier level. The problems connected with capital investment projects undertaken by national committees we had been resolving on my level with the mayor of the Bratislava National Committee and with the chairmen of the regional national committees on 13 September this year.

The SSR Deputy Premier also focused attention on issues connected with ensuring better satisfaction of the material and intellectual needs of our people and strengthening their social security. He stressed that in 1989 the original plan of retail trade turnover rose by Kcs500 million and deliveries to the retail trade network by Kcs 3.1 billion. The developments in the first ½ of the year show that, compared with the same period last year, when monetary incomes rose by 6.1 percent, it has been successful—by means of regulatory measures—in arresting the development of monetary incomes in accordance with the plan (1.2 percent growth). Nevertheless, the increased purchases continue; their value—compared with the past year—rose by 4.2 percent.

One of the reasons why the augmentation of the domestic market's stocks has lagged is the fact that imports for the domestic market are not being carried out in accordance with the projections of the plan. In the first ½ of the year only 40 percent of the annual volume was imported. The release of foreign currency immobilized in our claims abroad is lagging, so that imports of

consumer goods will enrich our market only at the end of this year or at the beginning of next year.

We regard stabilizing the conditions in the domestic market to be a key issue, said Comrade Hrivnak. The attempts by some commercial organizations to back away from purchasing goods in short supply, those goods whose current prices reduce the amount of commercial mark-up, are also unacceptable. In light of the existing risk of the population's increased interest in purchasing goods as well as of tourist purchases, we deem it necessary to reckon—in comparison with the tasks (directives) so far—with a higher retail turnover in the SSR of approximately Kcs1.5 to Kcs2 billion. At the same time, we have drafted proposals to increase supplies worth Kcs700 million from the industrial sector managed by the SSR Government—supplies over and above the directive for preparing the 1990 plan and Kcs1.4 billion above the level of the 5-Year Plan. We envisage procuring additional goods worth approximately Kcs400 million from manufacturing collectives and local production centers over and above the 5-Year Plan.

Comrade Hrivnak also spoke about measures to improve services available to the population and about the development of material social consumption. He added that during the past 3 and ½ years, Kcs390.5 million has been spent on health care and almost Kcs1,293 million more than had been envisaged was spent on noninvestment resources for education. However, despite efforts by the government, the aims of its policy statement—especially in the development of the material-technical base—have not been implemented in this sphere. Therefore, the provision of foreign currency resources worth Kcs960 million is being considered for the whole republic in the 1990 plan (from this sum, Kcs250 million will be allocated to deal with AIDS), resources which are being directed toward expanding capacities for the production of health care raw and processed materials. Their effect will become apparent in the next 2-3 years. Measures are also being taken to improve the situation in the supply of medicines and to increase the number of doctors and health care personnel. As Comrade Hrivnak stressed, the government will assert the more qualitative aspects of development in all sectors of social consumption and will direct social consumption toward stimulating the people's economic activity more effectively than before in order that social justice is reflected in this, that is, in order that the merit at work of individual sectors, groups, and individuals be taken more into account when these resources are being divided up.

In the part of his speech devoted to environmental protection, the SSR premier acknowledged that, as opposed to previous periods, and through the increased endeavors of the organs involved, there has been success in stemming the growth of harmful substances emitted into the environment; this has happened even with the further development of production and urbanization. The construction of further ecological projects has been included in this year's plan and in a situation when the planned inauguration of projects in other sectors has been suspended. We are paying particular attention to the protection of the unique water sources on Rye Island [area along the Danube in southern Slovakia] with regard to the construction that is under way and to the prepared operation of the Danube water project.

In harmony with the conclusions of the Slovak National Council meeting on this problem, the government and its organs—in cooperation with the appropriate federal bodies—are preparing proposals for the upcoming period to direct this sphere by means of a system of new economic instruments.

In conclusion, the Slovak National Council deputies received a report on the process of restructuring and democratization and on the SSR Government's efforts, in line with its policy statement, to assert the constitutional principle of socialist legality in all spheres of economic and social life and to consistently and thoroughly implement it.

In this connection, Comrade Hrivnak also spoke about his impressions concerning the work of the united executive center under the new conditions. While detailing the activity of the center under the conditions of the new economic mechanism, he said that we are proceeding from the premise that even while increasing the independence and responsibility of state enterprises and economic organizations, we cannot permit a weakening of the economic-organizational function of the socialist state.

We are reckoning, he said later, with the fact that implementing new economic methods of management will not be problem-free. We are entering into the period of their application with an insufficient balance in economic relations, which might lead to attempts to place group interests before those of society, to strengthen the position of the supplier to the detriment of the consumer, and to orient oneself toward more easily available resources while neglecting the mobilization of unused national economic resources. Therefore, especially in the transitional period, we attach extraordinary importance to the systematic orientation of economic development. Its regulations are in harmony with the law on national economic planning and with the law on state enterprise as set out in the principles for the current orientation of the economy—principles that we recently discussed in the government.

Modrow Coalition Idea Approved by Parties

LD1611183789 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Government head Modrow's ideas for a government coalition were approved today at a top-level round of talks of the GDR parties. There will be a commission to change and amend the Constitution; competent citizens will also work on this, as well as all the parties. A new electoral law is also to be drawn up. Government spokesman Meyer gave this information on Radio GDR. Tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, the People's Chamber will deal with the formation of the Cabinet and the government statement.

Krenz Urges Resignation of Former Deputies

LD1611190389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1843 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A session of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany group in the People's Chamber took place today in Berlin. As was stated, the general secretary of the Central Committee, Egon Krenz, proposed to the group that the following deputies resign from their mandates:

Hans Albrecht, Hermann Axen, Hans-Joachim Boehme, Johannes Chemnitzer, Friedrich Dickel, Horst Dohlus, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Erich Honecker, Margot Honecker, Guenther Kleiber, Werner Krolikowski, Ingeburg Lange, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Erich Mueckenberger, Gerhard Mueller, Alfred Neumann, Alfred Rohde, Horst Schumann, Horst Sindermann, Willi Stoph, Ernst Timm, Harry Tisch, Werner Walde, Herbert Ziegenhahn, Heinz Ziegner.

Deputies Nominated

LD1611195989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1855 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—[Passage omitted] At a session of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] group in the GDR People's Chamber today in Berlin, the general secretary of the Central Committee, Egon Krenz, recommended that the party group propose to the People's Chamber the adoption of a decision promoting the following successor candidates:

Rosel Neuhaeuser, Christian Kruscha, Eberhard Sandmann, Wolfgang Mill, Hans-Ludwig Erlenbeck, Horst Klose, Bernd Voigt, Petra Flemming, Monika Quinger, Elke Gerhardt, Heinz Albrecht, Gudrun Spelly, Wolfgang Beck, Ursula Schoenburg, Karl-Heinz Wuesterfelde, Manfred Voigt, Klaus Koehlitz, Richard Schimko, Jochen Thiele, Peter Johannis, Joachim Pfeiffer, Horst Buder, Dietmar Huhn, Hannelore Senkpiel, Karin Winkel, Rainer Schwabe, Thomas Singer.

The SED group approved the proposals made by Egon Krenz and referred them to the Presidium of the People's Chamber.

People's Chamber Session Opens 12th Session

LD1711082389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0802 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR People's Chamber met this morning in Berlin for its 12th session.

The most important points on the agenda are the government statement by new Prime Minister Hans Modrow and the presentation of his cabinet, which must be elected by the People's Chamber.

Also on the agenda of the 12th People's Chamber meeting is the recall of the deputy chairman and members of the Council of State, the election and swearing in of deputy Council of Ministers members and of State Council ministers, as well as changes in the mandate, which were proposed by the party groups.

The general prosecuting attorney is also expected to give a report on the results to date of the examination into security forces' attacks during the demonstrations in connection with the GDR's 40th anniversary.

Gerlach Elected to State Council Post

LD1711090189 East Berlin ADN in English 0859 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Professor Manfred Gerlach, the chairman of the GDR Liberal Democratic Party of Germany (LDPD), was elected to the new office of first deputy state council chairman on Friday.

Gerlach, 61, has been an LDPD member since 1945. He is one of the founders of the Free German Youth (FDJ) organization and was a member of the central council, its supreme body, between 1949 and 1959. At the age of 22 he became mayor of Leipzig.

Since 1950, Gerlach has been on his party's central executive. Between 1954 and 1967 he was LDPD general secretary, since 1967 LDPD chairman.

In 1950, he became a member of the Volkskammer (parliament). Since 1960 he has been deputy chairman of the body's defence committee and deputy state council chairman.

The office of first deputy state council chairman is corresponds to that of vice-president. [as received]

Modrow Presents New Coalition Government

LD1711094489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0900 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [17 November] in Berlin, Premier Hans Modrow, in agreement with the parties represented in the People's Chamber, proposed the election of the following members of the Council of Ministers:

Professor Dr Christa Luft, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers for Economy, Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED];

Dr Peter Moreth, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers for local state organs, Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD];

Lothar de Maziere, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers for Church Affairs, Christian Democratic Union [CDU];

Dr H.C. Gerhard Schuerer, chairman of the State Planning Commission, SED;

Dr Kurt Singhuber, minister for heavy industry, SED;

Professor Dr Karl Gruenheid, minister for mechanical engineering, SED;

Dr Guenter Halm, minister for light industry, National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD];

Dr Klaus Wolf, minister for post and telecommunications, CDU;

Heinrich Scholz, minister for transport, SED;

Manfred Flegel, minister for trade and supply, NDPD;

Prof Dr Gerhard Baumgaertel, minister for construction and housing management, CDU;

Dr Hans Watzeck, minister for agriculture, forestry and foodstuffs, Democratic Peasant Party of Germany [DBD];

Dr Hans Reichelt, minister for environmental protection and water management, DBD;

Prof Dr Peter-Klaus Budig, minister for science and research, LDPD;

Uta Nickel, minister of finance and prices, SED;

Hannelore Mensch, minister for employment and wages, SED;

Dr Gerhard Beil, minister for foreign economy, SED;

Oskar Fischer, minister for foreign affairs, SED;

Theodor Hoffmann, minister for national defense, SED;

Dr Hans-Joachim Heusinger, minister of justice, LDPD;

Dr Wilfried Possner, minister for education and youth, SED;

Dr Dietmar Keller, minister of culture, SED;

Lothar Ahrendt, minister for internal affairs, SED;

Prof Dr Klaus Thielmann, minister for health and the social services, SED;

Prof Dr Bruno Benthien, minister for tourism, LDPD;

Dr Wolfgang Schwanitz, head of the office for national security, SED;

Wolfgang Meyer, government spokesman and head of the Press Office, SED.

Modrow Says Cabinet 'Competent and Committed'

LD1711121289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1122 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The new government head Hans Modrow thinks those cabinet members he proposed to the parliament in Berlin are "competent and committed." During an ADN interview conducted during the first discussion break at the People's Chamber, the 61-year-old leader replied to a question on whether it was his ideal cabinet: "It is a coalition government that arose from a joint discussion. I accept it as it is—including other parties' proposals." The content of their position papers has become part of the government program. "I believe that the government statement did not just formally refer to this in the statements which I made several times. The speaker of the Liberal Democratic Party, as the first one in Parliament, was unable—despite all the controversial questions he put to me—to avoid the fact that it is a government statement which shows that the coalition is bound to it."

The concept of a "socialist spirit of enterprise," which appears in the statement, did not only apply to the economy. "Others will have to consider that such a spirit must also in the end be present in state work. We are all called upon to undertake new things—I mean spirit of enterprise in this sense."

However, Modrow left no doubt that his government did not wish to start with nothing with regard to personnel—"precisely not in this situation." He underscored the decision to fill a good quarter of the currently 28 government posts with politicians who already have ministerial experience.

SED Calls Mueller, Albrecht 'To Account'

LD1611195189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1859 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Central Party Control Commission of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee today laid down stipulations in order to call the former first secretaries of the SED Suhl and Erfurt Area Executives, Gerhard Mueller and Hans Albrecht, to account for violations of the law. According to a press release published on the same day, measures have been taken to rehabilitate those members of the SED who were punished or admonished in some way for their criticism of mistakes, or for a sorry state of affairs in economic or media policy, or for the banning of the periodical SPUTNIK. Measures have been laid down to protect members of the party from unrestrained, unjustified, and slanderous insinuations and accusations.

At a session of the commission led by its Chairman Werner Eberlein, member of the Politburo, questions about its further work were discussed in order, as it says in the release, to support the process of renewal within the party and to determine the place of the party control commissions in this.

Questions, applications, and pointers, sent by SED members to the control commission out of concern for their party's renewal, were also dealt with. In this, the stipulation was made that all letters and pointers available should be carefully worked through and brought to a conclusion. Every tip about powers being exceeded, laws being violated, and other misdemeanors will be pursued in a committed fashion and without regard for the person involved.

Krenz Affirms Warsaw Pact Responsibilities

LD1611210989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2002 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The processes of restructuring and the renewal of the political system taking place in the GDR affected neither the GDR's obligations as part of the Warsaw Pact's military coalition nor the functioning of the Western Group of Soviet Armed Forces. Egon Krenz, Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] General Secretary, GDR head of state, and chairman of the National Defense Council; Army General Petr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the Joint Forces of the Warsaw Pact Organisation; and Chief of Staff Army General Vladimir Lobov stated this today during talks in Berlin.

The interlocutors discussed the situation in the GDR. Krenz briefed them on efforts to renew socialism in the GDR and preparations for the extraordinary SED party congress in December of this year.

Army General Lushev spoke in detail about the activities of the Joint Armed Forces Staff and the implementation of the joint defense doctrine of the participating Warsaw Pact states in their present stage.

Krenz Congratulates Bulgaria's Mladenov

AU1711140289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Congratulations on Election of Petur Mladenov"]

[Text] On behalf of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and on his own behalf, Egon Krenz sent a cable very cordially congratulating Petur Mladenov on his election as Central Committee general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and wishing him the best of health, creativity, and success in his responsible function for restructuring and further strengthening socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Young Berliners Demonstrate for New FDJ

LD1611215789 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2100 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] There was an evening demonstration involving hundreds of young people in the Berliner Lustgarten, calling for a new FDJ [Free German Youth] from the bottom upwards. They called for the resignation of the youth association's leadership because it is impeding GDR development and is running behind the times. With its paralyzed functionaries, structures cast in concrete, and the long years of limiting activities to jubilee celebrations and militant demonstrations, the FDJ has lost all confidence. The speedy convening of an extraordinary youth parliament is necessary. It must clear the way for a democratic association under whose roof young people with the most different world views can fight for their interests.

FDJ Leader Resigns

LD1611221889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2147 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the FDJ [Free German Youth] Central Council, will announce his resignation in an interview in tomorrow's edition of JUNGE WELT, which was prereleased to ADN. "There cannot be a new FDJ without new people. It needs new faces, new heads, new ideas," Aurich said. Like the other council members, he intends to propose his resignation at the 13th session of the Central Council on 24 November.

The GDR youth now needs a new, united, independent, democratic organization committed to socialism in the country and which will not split either from above or from below. In spite of this conviction, he feels responsible for what had happened in the FDJ under his leadership, for what would perhaps later still be deemed as good, and especially for what is now being criticized.

"Also for the fact," Aurich added, "that during the past few years I often agreed when I should have spoken constructively against something, when I obeyed 'in a disciplined way' instead of protesting, and when I believed that I could seal up the recognized leaks with this or that measure." Speaking out honestly and bluntly and analyzing the mistakes and shortcomings in the activities of the FDJ is also a prerequisite for a hopeful new beginning.

Neubrandenberg Party Secretariat Resigns

LD1611202189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1938 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Neubrandenburg (ADN)—The secretariat of the Neubrandenburg SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Area [Bezirk] Executive, with the exception of First Secretary Wolfgang Herrmann, who was elected

Tuesday, resigned at a session of the Area Executive this evening. The body approved this decision with one abstention.

A working secretariat was elected to prepare an extraordinary area delegates' conference on 10 December. Wolfgang Herrmann said that the resulting fresh election of personnel at all levels is an important precondition for renewing the party in the area in line with the SED's action program.

Demonstrations Held in Several Cities

LD1611232789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2219 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—This evening citizens held protest marches and reasserted their will for the committed continuation of democratic renewal.

Erfurt—After a demonstration through the city, tens of thousands of citizens called for the democratic changes achieved to be made irreversible and to carry them further on Erfurt's cathedral square. Banners said "Against the Socialist Unity Party of Germany's [SED] monopoly of power," "Free elections in 1990—a draft law now" and "Punish the economic criminals."

Speakers for initiative groups said it is not enough to admit failings and called for public accountability. A statement signed by hundreds of citizens and addressed to the city deputies' assembly, which called for the formation of investigative committees to examine and to make public the work of the city council and parliament, was read. Personnel consequences are indispensable for building confidence. Thus, dismissed functionaries can no longer be popular representatives. They must resign immediately. The citizens' commitment was also directed toward the maintenance of Erfurt's old town and the prospects for skilled trades.

Gera—Mayor Horst Jaeger and several city councillors walked at the head of a demonstration by citizens of Gera through the area town. After peace prayers in three churches, around 10,000 gathered for the march. On their way through the town center they called for free elections access to the media by all democratic associations. Participants expressed their massive rejection of privileges and neo-Nazism on banners and placards. Again and again the cry echoed, "We are the people!"

Rostock—An estimated more than 25,000 citizens demonstrated in the center of Rostock. They called for free elections and publicity about the work of the Ministry for State Security on placards and banners. As in previous weeks they placed candles in front of the ministry's area administration. Representatives of various citizens' movements had welcomed the new travel rules for GDR citizens and the opportunities for encounters related to this during services at six churches, but pointed out that this did not take any internal problem off the table.

Many demonstrators protested against the SED's absolute claim to a leading role by signing lists laid out in front of the town hall.

Krenz Delivers Speech to SED Plenum

LD0811151789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Nov 89 pp 3-6

["Text" of speech by Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee, CC, at the 10th CC meeting in Berlin on 9 November: "In the GDR—Social Start for Renewed Socialism"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Dear Comrades,

Our 10th plenary session has the following tasks:

—In the collective exchange of thoughts and opinions, to analyze critically and self-critically the present situation in our society from the point of view of our party, and to draw the conclusions for the political and organizational work of the SED;

—To lay the foundations for the preparation of our 12th party congress and to submit to comrades within our party, and to the citizens of our country, an action program of our concepts of the revolutionary renewal of socialism in the GDR;

—To hold discussions openly and objectively and to do everything possible to serve the unity and cohesion of our party, strengthen the link between a collective leadership and members of the party, and create incontrovertible guarantees so that errors in development such as those committed in the past will be excluded for once and for all.

I understand this speech as a first contribution to this discussion. The exchange of opinion should and will supplement and enrich our party's draft action program prepared by the Politburo. A united fundamental orientation and above all the resolution for our Central Committee to act jointly should be the result of this, with which we will stand before our party, before the entire people.

The dangers facing our country and our party demand constructive action, directed toward the solution of present and future tasks. The situation in the GDR is tense and very contradictory. The atmosphere is characterized by a sense of departure not known to date. It was expressed first at the grass roots, among average people, among the citizens, and in the basic organizations of our party as well. A popular movement has arisen and expressed itself in many forms, in self-confident demonstrations and in a dialogue with many voices. This popular movement has sent in motion the process of monitoring and change. Democratic self-confidence has developed unmistakably, demanding a socialist society in which each person may live his life under his own responsibility and may co-shape a community which understands itself to be a lively and creative work of a sovereign people.

We are experiencing an unprecedented discussion among the people, in which an undreamed of original and committed spirit is visible in the dispute of opinions for a socialism worth living. Many fundamental demands have been formulated in this dialogue. They are also reflected in our action program. There are also illusory concepts and—no one can and should ignore this—anti-socialist ideas. This worries many citizens, who day after day must experience in an unbridled fashion the enemies of socialism who are interfering in the internal affairs of the people of the GDR and are trying to exploit their justified demands to eliminate socialism and with it everything good that the working class, the collective farmers and all other citizens, that the whole people have created. Our society must therefore be vigilant. No one should thoughtlessly put at risk those original and distinctive things that have come into being in 40 years of the GDR.

At the same time, the present picture is characterized by the insight and attitude of the vast majority of the population, especially of the working class and the collective farmers, that despite the need to deal with urgent problems, despite the need for dialogue and despite all justified opposition, it is no less important to fulfill the daily tasks in every place of work.

Just as it is true—and the current situation shows this—that man does not live by bread alone, it is also true that he also needs bread, milk, light, and warmth. Everyone, whatever his position in current events, bears as a citizen of this country his responsibility for the functioning of the society in which we all live. No matter what is being discussed in townhalls and on the street, in work collectives and administrative bodies, one must always think of how the citizens of this country must live together and of the obligations of the GDR toward the outside world.

We are not living on an island. We are part of a sensitive European organism.

No one can act as if the only important thing is his domestic well-being. We are all called upon to drag ourselves out of the rut of our thinking with the exertion of all our mental and moral powers. Politics without scientific rigor leads us astray. We need reason, and science is concentrated reason. The slogan about thinking as the first duty of a citizen is a topical one, and it also entails a reflective attitude.

Without a thought process free of all set cliches, and without thorough reflection, we will not achieve the objectivity necessary for finding viable solutions. Objectively, knowledge and level- headedness should be the great denominators for all those who bear responsibility in this society or are prepared to involve themselves in this responsibility. What is at issue here is nothing less than the future of this country as a socialist country in the heart of Europe. Our alliance partners in the Warsaw Pact and in the CEMA are looking to and relying on us.

It is painful to us all, comrades, to see how our party has been exposed to public criticism. It is all the more painful because, in the thousands of hours of its existence, it has placed its duty to general well-being about that of its personal interests. It is painful to our veterans, who risked their lives in the antifascist resistance for a better Germany. It is painful to the hundreds of thousands of comrades who in everyday social life have taken over additional honorary responsiblity, beyond their professional obligations, to ensure the advancement of our country. It is painful to us all. Anyone who degrades this human work, however justified the criticism, must also ask himself what sort of respect he has for the working people, for their diligence and their honor.

The majority of the members of our party, of the basic organizations, and functionaries at all levels are concerned with doing justice to their responsibility, doing a lot of work and fighting. Injustice was done to many in the past when their opinions, which were a protest against incomprehensible or incorrect decisions by the party leadership, led to discipline by the party or even exclusion from the party. Such decisions must be checked and, where necessary, reversed.

The criticism concentrated on our party, above all on its leadership, results from the responsibility taken on by us in society. Whoever has advanced with his program in accordance with his historic mission and the task in the Constitution must now also be ready in the hour of open contradiction to stand up for his responsibilities without if's and but's. Just as we, representing the people, constructed this Republic for the whole people, so we must give an account, as part of the people, to the whole people. I declare my faith in this, as should the Politburo and the Central Committee. From my understanding of my responsibilities I accepted the task of the Central Committee in this difficult situation to work as general secretary, although I am aware of the difficulty of the work.

The question we are all asking is: What has led to the present condition of our society?

Our party has undertaken great intellectual efforts to assert its claim to leadership. Many comrades have lived up to these efforts with their work. Yet, comrades, a basic failing of the system we have had up to now was the relationship between the party and the state, in which the party attempted in the end to implement its claims by administrative methods.

The future political system of socialism must be shaped in such a way that the party should fulfill its claim to leadership through making the greatest possible demands on itself—through a democratic and scientifically formulated approach to the solution of outstanding problems, through convincing social cooperation, through a capacity to learn from dialogue with social forces, through the competence of its members, through hard work from all the party organizations, from every comrade.

The fact is that the problems and issues being discussed publicly now did not arise overnight or in the course of last summer. A profound analysis of developments in the GDR after the 8th SED Party Congress will lead us to many new results. For example, today we know that the approach of the 11th SED Party Congress was not based on a realistic assessment of the situation. Insights which present analyses have produced that, in the formulation of economic tasks at the time, people were not working on reality, but on subjective wishful thinking. In addition, the right conclusions were not drawn from important international developments as they occurred, above all the example in the Soviet Union, as well as in other socialist countries. The leadership of our party distanced itself from its best friends. Scientifically determined processes in the development of modern socialism, which had been emerging for years, were grasped only superficially and not in terms of their intrinsic validity. Several new processes in the development of the productive forces, and international economic and political trends were not broadly recognized, nor were their full significance for fundamental decisions which would affect the future.

Negative phenomena, resulting from unsolved objective development problems and also increasingly from subjectively conditioned wrong assessments, became widespread in many areas: in the economy, in information policy and the media, in cultural and intellectual life, in education, in the work of state bodies, social organizations, and not least in our party.

Instead of discussing problems, general slogans were put into circulation and repeated in stereotyped fashion to try to order what was not in order. Instead of addressing problems immediately and directly, one was moved to hope that with more favorable constellations one would be able to control said problems. Instead of trust being placed in our comrades and all citizens to win them over to committed cooperation for solutions, a picture of the GDR was suggested to them that corresponded less and less to people's everyday experiences. Conflicts were suppressed and necessary answers often replaced with administration and leading by the nose.

It is also a fact that the multifarious forms of democracy available lagged behind the broadening interests of the citizens and their need to express themselves. The citizens' political maturity and their readiness to join in shaping society with their unmistakable and self-confident individuality was underestimated. Bureaucratic behavior and heartlessness in dealing with citizens grew in this soil. Disregard for individuality and competence in professional and social activity often led to ignorance of the people's intellectual ability and caused creativity to atrophy.

It is not least a fact that our economic policy has fallen behind the realities. New demands on our economy, and growing foreign economic problems such as the rise in oil prices, the shortage and higher price of raw materials, have not been met with the necessary changes in the national economy. Large-scale investments, which did not sufficiently contribute to the growth of the national income, took up significant material and financial resources. The irresponsible degree of wear and tear in industrial equipment has led to excessive and, economically, completely ineffective maintenance and repair requirements. In spite of important achievements in science and technology, the number of manual laborers in the GDR has, nevertheless, seen no reduction over the past decade.

With the insufficient injection of national income resources for accumulation in production sectors, the resources for the transfer of scientific-technical results into production were not available. Over the past few years, the disparity between supplier production and final production has increased. Gaps in material-technical supply have become apparent. These swallowed up a great deal of national economic performance. Production processes had to be kept in motion with an abnormally high and often frantic level of expenditure, which placed a considerable burden both on the workers and on the directors of enterprises and combines. A costly interplay of halted production developed, because of shortages in materials and deliveries on one hand, and overtime and Saturday and Sunday shifts on the other hand.

Arrhythmic production undermined work morale and promoted violations of work discipline. The high priority which working people have placed on diligent and good work for generations, this most valuable capital asset of our country, was disregarded.

The principle that one can only consume what one has previously worked for was most inexcusably violated; the unity of economic and social policy was not put into practive with any degree of commitment. Increasing social expenditure and expenditure on subsidies confronted backlogs in production. The balance was to be made up by taking out constantly increasing loans. Today that is costing us dear. Antisocial side effects, such as the black market, bribes, and dependency on connections, arose through the inadequate implementation of work performance principles.

All this has had a serious effect on the atmosphere in the country, causing discontent among the populace. Unrest and insecurity spread. Demonstrations started, in which the overwhelming majority supported necessary changes in socialist society, but among whom forces hostile to socialism and bent on confrontation and conflict also mixed.

These and other social causes also have a key role in the personal decision by over 200,000 GDR citizens to leave or want to leave their homeland. Without underestimating the influence of the opponent, his intentions, and his campaigns against socialism in the GDR, we do however have to admit to ourselves that the real causes of this exodus, which has been so painful to our society, are to be found in our country itself. Many people lost faith in the inconsistent social circumstances in the GDR and saw no prospects for their lives.

Compared with the problems and shortcomings, the difficulties and contradictions in everyday life, even the recognized social achievements of socialism in the GDR lost their motivating power.

With some exceptions, the citizens who have left the GDR are neither opponents of socialism nor criminals. These are citizens who saw no, or only limited possibilities, for the development of their personality, for the satisfaction of their individual needs, and interests in our country, and naturally egotism also plays a role. These are predominantly people who have grown up in our society and whose departure we regret. It has torn great holes in our society and in our national economy.

The 40th anniversary of the GDR once again underlined the historic truth: The establishment of the workers' and peasants' state, a socialist society on German soil, the founding of the German Democratic Republic was an expression of great revolutionary transformation. It was the foundation of everything achieved in 4 decades which, despite all the shortcomings and mistakes that are now being discussed critically and openly, is not paid scant regard —not least by all those who have helped to build up that state with their hearts, hands, and intellect.

Everything that is good and valuable in our country is not merely the result of the initiative of German Communists, but the result of a joint striving by all social forces, the efforts and work of millions. It was undoubtedly this historic achievement by our people which moved comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and many other good friends and comrades from throughout the world to express their solidarity, precisely on that occasion, with the citizens of the socialist German state and to recognize what they had achieved during their presence in Berlin. Determined antifascism and steadfast commitment to peace and disarmament are part and parcel of the fundamental political principles and the basic values of our country, of which the citizens of the GDR need not feel ashamed before anyone in the world.

But this anniversary of the GDR also occurred at the time in which the leadership of our party was not capable of understanding the outstanding problems of the further internal development of the GDR in all their fateful importance and of finding the necessary solutions together with the citizens. This was all the more disastrous since the enemies of socialism massively exploited these omissions in order to damage our workers' and peasants' power.

At a stroke, the existence of worsening contradictions within the depths of society entered the consciousness of society when an extraordinary situation developed in August through the emigration of many GDR citizens. It became clear that serious conflicts had arisen from unsolved problems which had been building up for some time and that our country had been plunged into a political crisis.

We stood at a crossroads. With the statement of the Politburo on 11 October we began to face up to the negative development. A week later the ninth session of the Central Committee took place. It set out in broad terms the basic direction for a revolutionary renewal of socialism in the GDR.

Social dialogue continued in the country on a wide scale with the ninth session of the Central Committee. It immediately addressed many people; nowhere did it exclude people or problems from debate. It put an end to patronizing attitudes and the proclamation of absolute truths. The open debate about what concerns people, the common search for solutions, the dispute about the best choice is developing in many, not in all, cases into a school of democratic interaction for all those involved. In many places what was initially spontaneous discussion has given rise to forms of democratic involvement of the citizens in the decision-making process, which are assuming lasting characteristics.

The Central Committee Politburo takes the view that new citizens' movements which want to work on the basis of the GDR Constitution should be legalized.

The complex development in the GDR is reflected increasingly in our mass media, in which, even after this short period of time, beneficial changes and a new, refreshing spirit are unmistakable. We see the journalists' responsibility to all the people, to further the renewal introduced through personal commitment and level-headedness, through knowledge and farsightedness, and not to belittle their great social duty in the eyes of the public through sensationalism. The public, objective discussion of social problems and their possible solutions has begun. This is positive and is something which we should encourage.

Today we can note that in the GDR radical social change toward a new socialism has begun. It presents us with challenges which require the exertion of all forces in all places. Thus we will face the problems which have arisen together as we approach the 12th Party Congress. We must make self-critical evaluations; we were not prepared for the open eruption of conflicts, for the new questions in our society.

Attempts by individual members and candidate members of the Politburo to put forward for discussion alternative ideas on the economy, media policy, youth policy, international tasks, and other questions did not meet with majority support. Indeed, they were suspected of calling into question the party's entire policy. The successes in the GDR as a result of the policy of the eighth party congress led to the incontestable dominance of some comrades. Collectivity in the Politburo was guaranteed less and less. Criticism and self-criticism remained underdeveloped. As a consequence, this led with increasing frequency to subjective decisions. The situation was wrongly assessed and, therefore, there was no reaction to questions that life had long presented. Wise and well-intended advice from our best friends not to miss the boat was cast aside. There were signs of political arrogance. Decisions that should have required

collective, level-headed discussion resulted from spontaneous, and often personal, annoyance. Perspective was lost.

All members of the outgoing Politburo are aware that, in spite of signs of dissent, they were for too long unable to come to terms with the situation and were too slow to raise collective objections to manifestations of authoritarianism. The conviction of leading the party with clear unity was deeper than the insight that they should trigger joint reflection and action through their own personal example. Today we know that unity requires, first of all, joint, keen political argument.

The Politburo as a collective body reacted inadequately and too late to signals from the members and from other allied forces, despite the fact that district and area executives conveyed expert information on the situation. The Politburo lagged seriously behind in its analytical and conceptual work. Internal problems were seen primarily as a result of external influence. There was no research into the true causes. At best, only symptoms were treated. Thus, responsibility for social shortcomings and the path to essential revelations was concealed.

A lack of a sense of reality was expressed in the overassessment of achieved results, in the depiction of what was being striven for as having already been achieved, in ignoring even the negation of backlogs, failings or errors. This was particularly visible for all of us in the media which were led with this in mind. Political culture decayed. Self-criticism fell completely out of fashion in society. Criticism of negative phenomena was left more and more to the Western media in their struggle against socialism in the GDR, with the reasoning that one did not wish to supply the enemy with ammunition. There were also tendencies toward the development in the Soviet Union, which ranged from waiting and seeing through to rejection, which were in part dogmatic and in part arrogant. This did not serve our close militant alliance with the CPSU and led to the striking off of Sputnik from the postal newspaper list, an act which many citizens received with incomprehension and protest.

All that paralyzed initiative and drowned the readiness to overcome the difficulties together. The authority of the party leadership, its links with the masses achieved over decades of consistent struggle for the interests of the people, and of which we were always proud, suffered serious damage.

That had particularly grave consequences, particularly in the weeks when internal tensions in the GDR increased. The wave of illegal emigrations commenced and circles in the FRG and other NATO states which were interested in destabilizing socialism began a psychological campaign against the GDR which was unprecedented in extent and harshness.

In this situation the lack of collective spirit and unity in the Politburo made itself particularly felt. On the one hand, there was the view that work should simply go on in accordance with the resolutions of the seventh Central Committee session, and on the other there was a growing realization that old answers were no longer capable of answering the new challenges. However, there was still no open discussion, no formation of collective opinion. The Politburo did not meet with the Central Committee to inform it of the seriousness of the situation, although members and candidate members of the Central Committee proposed this.

On 15 August, at the suggestion of comrade Erich Honecker who was absent due to illness, comrade Guenter Mittag was entrusted with deputizing for the general secretary. Thus at the time, when intelligence, decisive, and unified action was especially urgent, there was a lack of articulate speech at the top of the party. This damaged the party's ability to act and promoted the destabilization in the country, the psychosis stoked up by the Western media, and the proliferation of crisis phenomena.

In the second half of August, topical issues relating to developments in the GDR were discussed in the Politburo sessions. Above all they talked about the growing wave of emigrations; for example, on the initiative of several members of the Politburo on 29 August in a fundamental debate on the situation and toward preparing of the 12th party congress. But the comrade acting on behalf of the general secretary—comrade Guenter Mittag—did not consider it necessary to inform the party as a whole about this, as demanded by members of the Politburo, to make a relevant public statement and to hold an immediate meeting with the first secretaries of the area (bezirk) executives.

In further sessions of the Politburo, urgent demands for a necessary change in information policy and the work of the media were also rejected. The publication of further general articles on the principle for the preparation of the party congress and statements of approval from enterprises was regarded as sufficient. Since the emigrations were seen merely in terms of hostile influences, there were only proposals to solve the acute problems in the FRG embassies and for talks with the Hungarian Foreign Ministry.

After the Politburo's attempts to draft and publish a basic statement on the current situation and its necessary consequences and its efforts to publish relevant information for the party organizations were prevented, comrade Egon Krenz, in consultation with a series of other comrades, seized the initiative. He met strong resistance from comrade Erich Honecker. There was then a 2-day discussion in the Politburo, conducted with great firmness and political sharpness. In it the seriousness of the situation in the party and in society was made clear. At the same time proposals for activating the party and changing the situation were submitted. The former general secretary did not draw any consequences from this debate. At a subsequent consultation by the Central Committee Secretariat with the first secretaries of the bezirk executives on 12 October the confidence question was therefore posed.

On 17 October the Politburo unanimously decided to release comrade Erich Honecker from his function as general secretary as well as relieving comrades Joachim Herrmann and Guenter Mittag of their functions at the suggestion of comrade Willi Stoph, after renewed and vigorous debate. At the ninth Central Committee session on the following day these resolutions by the Politburo were passed.

Here it should once more be stressed that for a long time individual proposals on, for example, necessary changes in economic policy were put forward to the Politburo. However, they did not gain a majority because false estimates were being disseminated in the party leadership; the facts were being manipulated by Guenter Mittag, then secretary of the Central Committee, who had the confidence of the general secretary. Thus the comrades who stubbornly resisted any breaking of encrusted and traditional structures, any opening up of the party, or any call for policy corrections continued setting the course, until finally the long due change in the party leadership was started with the Politburo session on 11 October, the ninth Central Committee session, and the election of a new general secretary.

All these issues require far-reaching, committed, and complete explanation. This time is without doubt one of the most dramatic and complicated in the history of our party. The debate on how such serious false developments could arise must finally lead to guarantees which rule out their repetition forever.

We must be quite clear on this; the change which we desire is nowhere near completed yet, and we must expect resistance to it. However, this opportunity must be used differently than has been the case in similar situations in the past. It is not a matter of cosmetic corrections, piecemeal work, or correcting mistakes by simply plowing on. What is needed is the creation of conditions for the renewal of socialism such that a return to the old ways is no longer possible.

It is important to dig up and completely eradicate the actual roots which have led us to this situation. Linked to this, we must create conditions and structures such as will not only make the commenced renewal irreversible, but will imbue socialism with a new quality.

Dear comrades, in direct proportion, the problems in the GDR arose over a long period, and the immediate change was introduced spontaneously. The new social program is only in its initial phase. In spite of all the disadvantages and burdens this places on our social life, it also has the advantage for our society, for all the citizens of our country, for our entire party, that from the beginning, it is open to all proposals which help us to proceed along the path to greater socialism, to more tangible democracy, to an improved quality of life.

At this session the Central Committee must come to a thorough agreement on all questions, if necessary through a difficult debate. The aim is a correct joint stance which will put us in a position of ultimately being able to speak with one voice, with the voice of the Central Committee of our party, and by means of the action program of leading all members of the party in the difficult struggle for regaining lost trust.

In the past few days we have received numerous messages from our party's basic organizations and district executives containing opinions on convening a party conference. We understand that demand. It is borne by the desire that our party should regain trust and take action. The Central Committee will have to decide on this at this session.

With the action program of the SED, we enter into public debate. We therefore want to concentrate all our efforts on reaching an understanding on the content and demands of the action program and the 10th session within the basic organizations and party groups in order to prepare and implement the party elections and the district and area delegate conferences in the spirit of renewal. We only have a half a year left until our 12th party congress, and we must use it for work so that the party congress can give a clear orientation for the present and future of our country.

What do we hope to achieve with the revolutionary renewal of socialism in the GDR?

The change introduced in our country is aimed at the fundamental renewal of socialist society. The social strategy which must be worked out for this can start only from the recognition that socialism is a constantly changing organism. A social strategy committed to this is not set once and for all, not self-contained, final. Based on the swiftly changing realities there must be constant critical examination, precise and creative further development. This can occur only in a collective process of dialogue, recognition, and learning within the party and the whole of society. The objectives and contents of this social strategy can derive only from the sovereign decision of the majority of the people.

Our party considers it a fundamental question to see how successfully the power of the working class as the leading class of society can be put to better effect. This requires that the alliance of the working class with the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia, and all workers, be raised to a qualitatively new level, in order that every class and every level of society can bring its specific abilities, traditions, and attitudes into the revolutionary renewal process even more productively. If the scientific and technical revolution is to be mastered, it requires most decisively that the working class and the intelligentsia move closer together.

The social, intellectual, cultural and democratic needs and demands of our country's citizens have grown from its socialist development. At the same time they are subject to a variety of changes. Our social strategy will be judged on how sufficiently it opens up opportunities to each individual for the development of his personality and what space it creates for individuals to fashion there lives.

Citizens who are rich in knowledge, interested in politics and politically motivated rightly see themselves as mature citizens. They want to include themselves in decisions and decision-making at all levels. Man as the conscious subject of social processes, as a clearly recognizable individual, acting creatively and responsibly—that is the decisive source of solutions to the complicated tasks before us.

Our strategy will be directed toward a more dynamic development in economy, science, and technology and to relevant social progress. This presupposes accelerated development and an economically more effective use of productive forces. The required economic growth will only become the basis for real progress, however, if it also meets ecological demands.

International changes are having a growing influence on internal developments. The peace question remains the fundamental question of our time. The disarmament and detente process has by no means become irreversible. Today and in the future there is no reasonable alternative to political dialogue.

The world of socialism is involved in far-reaching processes of radical change. These are dictated by the necessity of making the inner potential and driving forces of socialism more productive in accordance with the altered conditions. Only in this way can we thwart the intention of imperialist circles which exploit the contradictions and difficulties inherent in the changing processes in order to bring about the strategic defeat of socialism.

The renewal of socialism in the GDR will be achieved in the future amid even more cosmopolitan conditions. The controversy and the competition between socialism and capitalism will be developed more intensively in the areas of economy, democracy, and ideology. The internationalization of economic life and the pressure of global problems will increase further. The GDR can therefore no longer follow isolated paths. The new problems can be overcome only in close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and with capitalist countries.

Our image of socialism in a dynamically changing world has to be defined more precisely. We are in favor of working out a modern concept of socialism in a creative and productive exchange of experiences with the other socialist countries. Bound up in history and the present, we have a common responsibility. As we know today, as we move away from a single model of socialism, further developments will bring new common elements, typical for socialism, and differing variations.

The development of a new social strategy cannot rest on the protestation of abstract principles. It is solely a matter of determining a socialism in which people can be fulfilled and increasingly satisfy their needs and interests by their work. The socialism we mean can only be the work of the popular masses themselves.

We need not start at zero with the drafting of our social strategy. Part of the basis of the renewal of our socialist society in the GDR is the political power of the workers and peasants, social ownership of the main means of production, our party's responsiblity in society, and the alliance of all democratic forces of our country. Whoever calls these foundations into question should thoroughly consider the following: does he want social chaos, does he want destabilization on the sensitive dividing line between socialism and capitalism, does he want endangered workplaces, does he want social insecurity instead of social security for all?

That cannot of course mean on the other hand that what has been achieved should become fixed. Here, too, one must examine again and again what is in need of development, renewal, and reform. A real stabilization of the foundations of socialism demands its continual renewal.

The shaping of the future cannot any longer be a simple continuation of the present. The starting point for the renewal can only be the experiences and needs of the people. Based on this, the new social development possibilities are to be established and realistic trends worked out. We need a realistic vision of the future, a socialism which is in all things oriented toward the people—economically effective, socially just, politically democratic, and morally upright.

A great deal which is necessary for the free development of the individual has been created by our society: social security, good education, and varied training. A great deal that is indispensable for the free development of the individual has yet to be created: the citizens' genuine right to have a voice in the decisions of important matters of social development and the future as well as better conditions for self-fulfillment of the individual. Our recognition of the free development and fulfillment of the individuality of every person must now be followed by well-considered, practical action in all areas.

People's individuality must always be seen as a social driving force and a source of innovation. it must be used in the interests of the individual and society. Respect for and the development of individuality is a part of the quality of life of socialism and the development of a positive feeling for life. In the future we must see social freedom primarily as the democratic search for variants of and the determination of the most favorable possibilities of further progress. The insight into what is socially necessary, that which is indispensable for freedom, must itself be free. The relevant political preconditions for this must be created and guaranteed.

We are faced with the task of further developing socialism in our country in a great social consensus into a performance-orientated and socially just society. This will go hand-in-hand with the realization that performance goals, social goals and social security cannot be reconciled without conflicts and contradictions. We must face up to these contradictions and conflicts. Humanistic solutions

must be found in the shared responsibility of all social forces and implemented jointly.

Socialist society can only be a democratic society. In everything which has been achieved we clearly recognize today that the democratic potential of the workers and peasant state and the socialist relations of production was insufficiently exploited. Dialogue, persistent struggle for good decision-making, freedom of opinion, authority in issues of morality and justice, clear responsibilities and effective control mechanisms, and conditions for competent and speedy decisions must become essential traits of socialist democracy. This is the only way we can convincingly consolidate the alternative to bourgeois democracy, to the domination of the special interests of capital, to the venality of politics, to the commercialization of the media, to blatant human rights shortcomings, and to the violation of universal human values.

We are striving for the moral renewal of our society. We have or had achieved much, but much has also been lost. We are committed to a socialism in which the moral values of the workers movement as well as the universal human values which have emanated from the historic activity of different classes, ideologies, churchs and other communities flow into the dissemination of life ideals. Conscience and morality must assume a much higher place in politics, the economy, and other spheres.

If we contemplate the revolutionary renewal of socialism and the possibilities of fulfilling it today, then that also means critically reconsidering our understanding of culture, above all of cultural policy. This is a matter of culture in all areas of society; at work, during leisure, in the arts, the media, and in politics. And it will also be a matter of developing an overall concept of culture as an indispensable component of our social strategy.

In our alliance with artists and authors, with all those working in the area of culture, public understanding of the contributions offered in works of art to the intellectual appropriation of our reality, the particular way in which art can promote a view of the world and activity which fashions the society are all significant sources of productivity in our joint actions to achieve socialism.

One of socialism's historic tasks is the creation of a new culture worthy of man. Investigating political, social, and cultural circumstances in the GDR with regard to their cultural- historical substance will, therefore, be an important task of academic and artistic analysis in preparation for our party congress.

The humanistic character of our society, which is determined by people's needs and interests, must also be reflected in the external appearance of the environment of people's lives. Cleanliness and aesthetic form are as much a part of this as architecture on a human scale, and the planning of towns and housing estates.

We can and want to fulfill the revolutionary changes being striven for with our party's social strategy in partnership with all forces prepared to do this and by far-reaching reforms. They are to give socialism in our republic a new quality in its entirety.

Scientific socialism has developed in the conflict with the circumstances and the intellectual currents of the age. Through this, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels came with compelling logic to their world view, which became ours. Each generation of communists must draw this view of the world more exactly, and must improve and enrich it. The starting point is the precise analysis of social processes, of progress, of the achievements as well as of the mistakes, failings, and errors. It is on this and no other basis that we are developing socialism, a social order which is continuing on its way to new shores. We commit ourselves to the Marxist realization: "We call communism the—true—movement." (Footnote 1) (Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels: "German Ideology," Works, Vol 3, Berlin 1958, p 35)

Our party needs the social sciences. Decisions that have been taken are not signs prohibiting further scientific considerations. In the social science field the following also applies: Whoever reconnoiters new goals and ways will, through the results of his research, always be questioning what has hitherto been usual, practised and thought in politics, the economy and other areas and augment or change it through new knowledge and, thereby, produce alternatives. To do this, he must analyze the way society actually works. In preparation for the party congress, academics of the party institutes, the Academy of Sciences, the universities and colleges have prepared a large number of studies which contain thorough analyses and forward-pointing ideas and proposals. The studies are being thoroughly evaluated and their authors and other academics are being brought into the work of preparations for the party congress.

On the Economic Situation of the GDR and the Necessary Economic Reforms

At this turning point we are examining with great seriousness the credits and debits in our country's economy. A glance at its overall accounts is not as pleasing as has been simulated in the all-too bland reports in the past. There are significant achievements which give us a good starting point, but we are also taking on economic burdens which make the fresh start extraordinarily difficult.

A considerable growth in national income was achieved over a long period of time. There was a positive change toward intensified production. However, the word "comprehensive" in this process defines the goal rather than what was achieved. Significant achievements have been made in high technology, chemistry, and metallurgy. The increase in economic strength was used largely for social aims. The fact that the GDR has built or reconstructed more than 3 million residences since 1970 is an extraordinary achievement. However, at the same time the most urgent repairs were not carried out. The state of the almost 1 million flats in private blocks in towns is particularly problematic. In some towns such as Goerlitz, Meissen, Brandenburg, and not the least,

Leipzig, the state of repair of some areas of these towns gives us cause for concern. Thousands of flats are no longer inhabitable in these towns. The result of all this is that many citizens continue to be dissatisfied with their living conditions and with the architectural state of their towns. This has been further exacerbated by the Berlin deployment of bezirk [area] construction capacities which has gone on for years. The situation demands that new decisions be made on the conclusion of the deployment of bezirk construction capacity in the capital, Berlin. Our party is to take construction capacity back to the southern areas. At the same time we are in favor of plans currently under construction being completed in an orderly manner. That is a precept of national economic reason.

Sober analysis requires it to be noted that economic policy, although it brought indisputable successes, also allowed grave problems to arise and kept putting them off: The accumulation, above all the productive accumulation, fell considerably behind.

Important proportions got out of line—the relationship between accumulation and consumption, between supply and final production. The half-hearted attempts to advance the performance principle were not able to stem the widespead practice of leveling down. There was no real success in creating a strong economic interest in good work. Violations of the economic laws ever more painfully penetrated the daily life of the people. Missing supplies and worn-out technology prevented work.

That is illustrated in the grave false development of accumulation in our country. On the one hand, the accumulation rate decreased in all from 1970 to 1989 from 29 percent to 21 percent. The dramatic thing about this is that this exclusively reduced the share of the productive areas. Productive investments sank in this period from 16.1 percent to 9.9 percent. On the other hand, the share of non-productive accumulation remained around the same at 9 percent. That enabled, on the one hand, the financing of the indispensable housing construction program, and on the other hand the material-technical basis in many enterprises in our national economy wore out because simple reproduction could no longer be secured.

What was achieved, however, is thanks to the industry and the commitment of workers, engineers, technicians, and also of many directors who work to the limit of their physical capability. Much was only achieved by means of overtime and special shifts, by imagination, and a talent to improvize. In the last months, the contradictions in our economy became so clear and grave that many working people, engineers, scientists, technicians, even whole collectives, addressed the Central Committee with critical statements and reasoned proposals.

We agree with all comrades and colleagues, with all citizens who demand that it is most important to ensure that everywhere work can be done in an orderly way, quickly, and in a continuous fashion. They warn at the same time of pipe dreams and thoughtless promises. Yes, we want to be sure of the facts if we are to make the necessary changes.

That requires stating to the Central Committee that over a long period the principle whereby one can only use what has been previously worked for, was violated. Performance remained behind the plan objectives while consumption, housing construction, and many areas of social policy grew faster than foreseen.

This situation is also reflected in the state budget. We have always spoken of balanced state budget plans. But the fact was disregarded that the balance was based in part on the exhaustion of credit sources.

We must ensure exports for the payment of interest, for the necessary loan repayments, and for the increasing demands on imports for supplies to the economy and the population.

This is why the import wishes, the demands made on tourism, and the associated expectations can by no means all be met at present. First we need an export offensive; performance has to be raised, and high export surpluses must be achieved in order to master the present and future. An increasing proportion of the produced national income, which is unavailable for domestic distribution, must be used for this.

We must not hold external factors wholly responsible for the rapid worsening of these economic contradictions during the 1980's. The reasons lie above all in the hesitant and inconsistent reaction of economic policy. They also lie in a reluctance to tell the truth about the state of the economy and in our inability to seek solutions in a consensus with the party membership and the population.

We would like to confine ourselves first to these critical remarks on the economic situation. They underline that it is essential that an even more far-reaching analysis be undertaken by the government and submitted to the People's Chamber.

An overall change in economic policy, coupled with radical economic reform, is indispensable. The social target to be stipulated for the coming years must again conform with the country's economic potential. This is limited by the present capacities and contradictions and must be extended by a more viable economic system.

Basic considerations on this, for which we have received many ideas from economic practicians and economic scientists, are contained in the proposal before you in our party's action program. I do not want to repeat anything, but I will spell out the initial ideas for this far-reaching program a little.

We must expolit the significant reserves innate in our socialist planned economy, in the social ownership of the means of production. There is no doubt that the renewal of society cannot succeed without dynamic economic growth. The economic results determine the room for

action in many social areas as, on the other hand, the political, intellectual and cultural conditions have a deep effect on economic performance capability.

Most urgent on the agenda are immediate measures to stabilize the economic situation. Here we need still more constructive ideas which should be channeled to the editorial commission for the action program. The working out of a new economic strategy and, finally, of economic reform should accompany this.

A new economic system cannot be shaped by merely "perfecting" elements of the present one, but only by fundamentally reshaping it. It must not be a new, rigid system, but a dynamic and flexible system capable of constant renewal. It will not be possible at the same time to immediately put aside the old economic mechanism and to replace it in one fell swoop with a new one.

Since a continuing reproduction process must be upheld, it is undoubtedly necessary to organize the transition from the present to the new economic system just as circumspectly as the drafting of ideas and consistent gradual implementation of a comprehensive economic reform. We can and must take no hasty steps, make no untenable promises, issue no unbacked check. We must not put in motion anything which is insufficiently thought out and obstructs future steps.

This is why an economic stabilization program will be drafted first in connection with the 1990 plan. To do this, it is essential to have a program to develop the production of consumer goods, particularly raising the production of goods especially in demand. We want to speedily close existing gaps in the normal supplies to the population. Improved processing and increasing the range of products for which we have adequate raw materials of our own is also important. I am thinking here also of milk and meat products. The supply of fruit and vegetables must be improved. The citizens rightly expect the supply of basic daily necessities in line with the plan up to the time shops close.

We consider it necessary to analyze the subsidy policy which has been criticized by many working people during the current debates, to work out proposals, and not to submit them until after a thorough debate. It is a matter of balanced and differentiated measures to change subsidy policy while guaranteeing social security. All elements of subsidy policy which contradict the work performance principle, as well as those which lead to waste and speculation, should be eliminated. Subsidy policy can only be changed while strictly maintaining citizens' interests.

We cannot disregard the fact that there are a large number of households whose monthly income is below average. Their standard of living should not deteriorate in any event if subsidies for basic goods and fares are used in a more differentiated manner. We must recognize, without if's, and's, or but's, that the stabilization of foreign trade is of vital necessity for the entire economic structure of the GDR. For this reason we must use the foreign trade network to stabilize our situation in the next 1-2 years.

House building should be significantly concentrated on maintenance and restoration. A one-sided and overstrong fixation on an increase in new construction on the outskirts of cities has disjointed the normal cycle of reproduction for the entire housing stocks in the towns. The state of the towns, i.e., the everyday culture of the streets, links people immediately to their relationship with socialism and our party's policies.

It is undoubtedly necessary to regard urban construction policy as an important government leadership task and to bring it into direct contact with the citizens. Therefore, we propose that the government form a "social concepts and urban development" working group and charge it with drafting proposals for an effective and rapid change in this area, too. In the foreground should be small- and medium-sized towns, and the inner-city areas of the large cities with their run-down building stock.

Urgent though these measures are, at the same time an economic strategy must be worked out which is really worthy of the name. It requires thorough advanced scientific work and the public discussion of priorities and alternatives in order to achieve a far-reaching consensus on the goals to be aimed for and the paths to achieve them. There are many fundamental questions to answer. I want to mention just some of them:

What changes should we bring about in the quality of economic growth? It is in the first instance a matter of a higher quality of life. This is the real goal of growth. It is also a matter of a long-term transition to the intensive type of reproduction. Let's not fool ourselves. What has so far been done on the path of intensification was mixed with extensive characteristics. This is evident in the increased cost of the final product. The one-sided fixation with high quantitative growth rates leads one astray. What is decisive is the increasing final product.

How can scientific-technical progress be intensified and made effective throughout the national economy? The justified pleasure at outstanding scientific-technical performance should not allow us to forget that in the end only productivity, costs, and export profitability count. The selection of areas in which the GDR participates in the development of high technologies and strives for top achievements requires a thorough and competent preparation of decisions.

Without concentrating the power of accumulation on vital areas, on the nerve center of the scientific-technical revolution, our country cannot advance. But in the past, investment policy went too far in this area. This happened at the expense of maintenance, modernization, and rationalization. We have always described the latter as the main path of intensively extended reproduction. But reality did not always correspond to this. In the future our course must not only be propagated but also

consistently implemented through the planned distribution of resources. We know that there are many passionate fighters for scientific-technical progress in our economy. But the present regulations and practices do not stimulate them; in fact, they are often a disadvantage to them. We must change this.

How do we promote science in any case? That counts among the most important tasks for the party, in practice and not just in words. Many scientists have rightly drawn attention to the fact that negative, obstructive factors have come to light ever more in the last years. That applies to insufficient, indeed retrograde, material-technical equipment, shortsighted orientation of science toward daily tasks, neglect of fundamental research, a lack of sufficient international communication possibilities, and a decline of performance capability in comparison to international standards.

Of course, a renewal of the material and technical foundations of research and training cannot happen overnight. But it is clear that no top-class scientific performance is possible without top-class technology. We must find ways to solve this problem step by step and in a manner which is orientated toward the main fields. The status of science and its institutions and bodies in state and society must be enhanced. The authority of the scientist should be raised and his advice respected. Scientific results must not be dismissed as disruptive. With intensive basic research, science provides us with a lead for tomorrow and the day after.

The economy of the GDR can only maintain its position if it involves itself more strongly in the international division of labor, especially in CEMA and the EC market. Aspirations toward a certain self-sufficiency, which were pursued for a long time in view of pressing compulsions of the day, have proved in the long run to be mistaken. It is important to realize the advantages which we can derive from specialization and from concentrating on those areas where we have tradition and possess strengths, such as machine tools, textiles machinery, printing machines, and scientific apparatus—and there is much more which one could list here. In answering the difficult question, we can benefit greatly from the experiences of others, especially those of smaller industrial countries, which, like the GDR, are strongly integrated into the international division of labor.

How can we make better use of society's labor force? No one can any longer overlook the fact that in our country there prevails a disproportion to the detriment of productive sectors. We must overcome this purposefully and calmly. A reduction in the number of administrative and office staff is necessary. In the trade and service sector much depends particularly on how we succeed in strengthening the material-technical basis in such a manner that conditions exist for fully exploiting working hours.

The strengthening of the national economy's investment strength will be indispensable over a long period of time for the socially necessary efficiency of our economy. In raising the rate of accumulation we are faced with the necessity of looking for compromise solutions between this and the further improvement of the standard of living and the imperative export surpluses.

Which directions will we be taking in the long term for the supply of raw materials and energy for the GDR economy? In answering this question several aspects must be considered: the expenditure and ecological consequences of domestic production as well as the scope for rational input, the expansion of production which is efficient in energy and raw materials, and export structures, but also the tapping of import sources.

Priorities should be identified for developing the standard of living of the population in the 1990's as a whole and for the various social and income groups. The structures of the population's needs are undoubtedly changing internationally in the long term. As a whole, both the consumption of consumer goods and the achievements for the restoration and preservation of the natural and man-made world are growing. Increasing importance is attached to preserving the health of the people to a ripe age and a culture-filled work and life. In the 1990's, too, housing construction remains a very important socio-political task, as already stated, with more emphasis on repairs and modernization.

The present economic problems and contradictions in the GDR's national economy are not proof of the failure of the planned economy. However, they are proof that no economic subjectivism, voluntarism, waste and violation of the conditions of economic balance must go unpunished and that in "democratic centralism" the stress must not just be on the second word.

In the future, too, public ownership must remain the economic basis of socialism. Central state planning is also indispensable. The essential point is to harmonize the advantages of socialist planning with the stimulating effects of the market. This means giving the enterprises and combines a new position in the economic system which enables them to develop fully as socialist producers of goods. They must be able to fully exercise their own responsibility in the market. Therefore we regard the self-generation of resources as the pivotal point and see it as a basic principle of our socialist performance-orientated society. We are aiming for a market oriented-socialist planned economy.

What should central state planning keep in its hands and guarantee? Balanced national economic proportions and balance sheets so that more is not distributed than can be produced; an efficient economic structure and quality of production; the reliable provision of raw materials and sources of energy; and stable state finances with a balanced relationship between purchasing and total commodities available. Thus central state planning will be committed and directed toward maintaining the interests of society as a whole. To this end it will have to make use of state plans and state tasks. Everything else is left to the broad field of dynamic action where responsibility lies with the combines and enterprises. It is up to them to fill this out with

cooperative collaboration regulated by contract for the needs of the domestic and export markets.

Part of economic reform should be a concept of how a variety of forms of state and cooperative socialist ownership of the means of production will be developed. The goal is always to achieve high economic flexibility and efficiency.

The responsibility and autonomy of the local people's assemblies and their councils must also be raised. In the future they should themselves decide what they will use the planned total fund for. This principle could be gradually applied in the bezirk-controlled industry, in the locally managed building industry, in the transport sector, in trade, in the local supply industry as well as in the education sector, in the health and social services sphere, in the housing economy, in the cultural and other locally managed sectors.

The USSR takes first place in our external trade relations. Cooperation with the USSR is the decisive guarantee for the continuous fulfillment of our own economic tasks. It still has many reserves. We are concerned to make it effective more quickly without prejudices about new forms such as, for example, joint enterprises and research collectives. Cost and effect are decisive.

We are continuing constructive cooperation with the other socialist countries, irrespective of the different paths of economic reform. We take our direction here from the GDR's economic interests. All this includes effective cooperation within CEMA.

In trade with the nonsocialist economic region, we adhere to the principle of mutual advantage. Our hand remains outstretched for the development and deepening of constructive cooperation with the capitalist countries, including the FRG. Especially in the interests of productive accumulation, we are prepared to examine all forms of cooperation with FRG concerns and firms and other capitalist countries. The GDR is prepared to cooperate with concerns and firms of capitalist countries, to exchange licences and technologies, to enter into leasing arrangements, and to develop licenced production.

We are in favor of developing economic cooperation with the FRG in some large projects in the spheres of energy, environmental protection, chemicals, and other branches which benefit both partners.

Economic reforms must be closely linked with a responsible environmental policy. It must be given greater importance. All the more so as a high degree of environmental pollution has arisen on the basis of the high concentration of the population and industrial agricultural production in densely populated areas, as well as the necessary use of lignite and salts as the most important mineral resources.

Since 1980 industrial and agricultural plants have been equipped and re-equipped with modern environmental technology at a cost of m 9.75 billion, and measures have been taken on providing drinking water and protecting waterways. However, in densely populated areas with a high proportion of basic material production, for example in the Zittau-Goerlitz area, in the upper valley of the Elbe, and in certain regions in the Halle and Leipzig areas, we have not yet been successful in decisively reducing pollution.

Environmental protection measures must from the outset be a firm component of plans and concepts toward developing the national economy or its branches. With new or reconstructed production facilities, thought must at the same time be given to the necessary environmental technology. Environmental protection measures must not be allowed to be decided just as an afterthought. The present incorrect assessment of investments, which designates environmental protection as uneconomical, must be eliminated. Every manager in the economy should be confronted with the ecological demands made of production, to the same extent as he is with those of the market. The new 5-year plan must no longer allow the production of old and long obsolete equipment which burdens the environment, although there have long been new, effective, and environment-friendly solutions.

It remains the principle of socialist environmental policy to implement it with the support of the broadest initiative among citizens. This also includes open information on environmental data—as has already been partially introduced—and a public discussion by citizens and social organizations of all environmental processes. It should be guaranteed that all decisions to determine sites which have an influence on the environment should be defended publicly by the person giving the order in question, under the guidance of the local state bodies. The submitted proposals, reports, and notices should be presented and taken into account in the decision.

In short, we will proceed so that economic stability increases, ecology is strictly respected, the social security of the people is preserved and their interest in good work is increased. Conditions should be created everywhere so that the industry and the initiative of the working people brings the greatest advantage. At the same time the wide-ranging and far-reaching economic restructuring will be conscientiously worked out and consistently set in motion. To do this we need urgently the advice and specialized knowledge of the many clever and experienced economists in our country.

As far as agriculture is concerned, there has been intensive joint work with practitioners and scientists and a constructive dialogue with the allied parties and mass organisations for a long time to find viable answers to new questions. The proposals worked out should be put up for public discussion in preparation for the 12th party congress.

The low accumulation capacity of the past few years has not passed by agriculture and the food-processing industry without leaving a mark. The situation is particularly serious in animal husbandry and in the food-processing

industry with regard to working conditions, the extent of work, the difficulty of work, the labor situation and the lack of young people coming into the industry. All this is the result of the contradiction between a falling labor force and the pace of modernization of the material-technical basis, which was not solved in time.

For years the plans have not related to the needs of agriculture in quality, structure or quantity. Many expectations fed by promises from the highest people in the country, even after the 13th farming congress, remained unfulfilled. Thus, initiatives to rationalize the construction sector remain a decisive prerequisite for the stability of production and processing. It is indispensable that the government guarantees visible improvements in the availability of spare parts and equipment, even in the plan for 1990, and draws the necessary conclusions for the new 5-year plan.

It is now time to discuss thoroughly with the cooperative farmers and workers the further improvement of socialist production relations on the land. We must shape these relations so that they contribute more effectively to increasing agricultural production and organizing it more effectively. In this connection we are of the opinion that the decisions on the development of the LPG [agricultural production cooperative], on cooperation and on the manner of cooperation of the collectives in crop and animal production should be taken independently by the farmers in accordance with the specific conditions on the basis of long-term development concepts. It is beyond doubt that the collective farmers will examine everything thoroughly and in a level-headed way and make wise decisions.

We are in favor, in the spirit of our agricultural policy, of renewing the economic mechanism so that the enterprises' own responsibility and the performance principle acquire a new quality. This is in the interests of every single collective farmer and worker and of our whole society. If the people in the villages are to feel at home more attention must be paid to living conditions. This includes a guaranteed supply of everyday goods and services and also the planned development of the infrastructure.

Within the meaning of the new beginning in society, new considerations concerning content and forms of the representation of the interests of women are necessary. On the basis of the values and ideas of socialism and of the great achievements of women themselves, their influence in society should continue to increase, above all through intensified participation in the exercise of power in politics, the state, and the economy.

The further development of joint responsibility of men and women for the family is of decisive importance for this. Corresponding to this would be the autonomous decision of the married couple on the taking up of social-political measures as well as the working out of proposals for their more varied use. That would be both in the interests of the development of the personality of women and of men and children.

In the statement before the People's Chamber on 24 October I laid out, in coordination with the chairmen of the other parties, basic positions for a new relationship between the state and citizens. Pulling society out of the political crisis requires the reform of the political system. The draft action programm proposes steps to this end.

We must note today that the present political power structures do not function in a sufficiently democratic way. In practice the development of socialist democracy was reduced to the principle of democratic centralism and its one aspect, the central state planning and management of society. This meant that the receptiveness to various interests, needs, views, and ideas was blocked. It functioned from the top down, but in the reverse direction it proved to be insufficiently viable. The only aim of the political reform process can be to create a social consensus for the solution of problems within the framework of a socialist social order.

The trusting alliance of the parties and social organizations is an achievement of socialism in the GDR and an important foundation for the renewal of our political system. The parties working with the SED, their officials and members make an independent contribution to this with their proposals and deeds.

The SED supports shaping anew the cooperation in the democratic bloc and in the state committees. We take as the starting point that the values and ideals of socialism are the common denominator for all parties in the democratic bloc.

On this basis we intend to always find consensus for possible conflicts of interest between parties and organizations. The proposals of the allied parties for the 12th party congress are providing us with many stimuli. They must be thoroughly evaluated by the Central Committee.

So that the enormous growth in the political activity of the people leads to social progress, we need new paths as well as proven organizational forms. The commissions of the National Front must step out of the shadows in many places. Our party intends to contribute to this. We support the strengthening of the commissions of the National Front by means of elections. The National Council of the National Front is working on corresponding proposals.

A renewal of socialism—this has been proven—requires constructive and understanding coooperation between the state, the churches, and the religious communities. This does not cancel the principle of separating state and church, which is affirmed by both sides. Many of the issues raised recently by the churches must be reflected upon and solved in accordance with social requirements and possibilities.

While each respects the conviction and mission of the other, our cooperation ought to be concerned with more meaningfully shaping life in our country. It is in keeping with the common interest of state and church that this

should be accomplished in an atmosphere of uninterrupted work and of respect for the rights and dignity of man.

The socialist democracy to which we aspire is largely determined by the activity of our socialist parliament and the government elected by it. Yesterday, as we know, the government resigned. The president of the People's Chamber has also vacated his post. From this session of the Central Committee, we propose that this be discussed in the central democratic bloc and that a session of the People's Chamber be called on the subject. It should decide on the election of a new president of the People's Chamber and of a new chairman of the Council of Ministers, who will be given the task of forming a new government and issuing a government statement.

The Constitution lays down that the government must manage the uniform implementation of all state policies. In order to do this it must take on the political, economic, cultural, and social tasks as well as those for the country's defense entrusted to it in real terms. In order to do this, we consider its thorough reorganization to be necessary. It is a matter of developing to its full extent its character as a coalition government and to secure efficiency and thrift in its work. We will clearly delineate the responsibility of the party's central bodies from the government's responsibility. Our society needs progressive legislative work on the part of the People's Chamber which starts from our people's needs and clearly sets out rights and duties without loopholes.

Point by point, that means from our viewpoint:

—Drafting a law of association in order to expand the right of the association of citizens toward implementing their interests in line with the principles and goals of the constitution;

—drafting a law which guarantees the right of citizens to peacefuly assemble within the framework of the principles and goals of the Constitution;

—drafting a media law which ensures an objective reflection of social reality in the media, which fundamentally governs the activity of GDR and foreign journalists in the GDR, and prevents the misuse of the media;

—a new electoral law which guarantees a free, general, democratic, and secret election, and in each stage of the election guarantees public control. We are able to effect that control in the GDR without, as the lawyers representation established, international involvement;

—short-term change of the stipulations on state crimes, as well as on crimes against state order in the penal code;

—concluding the current work on a new criminal proceedings ruling, in which inter alia the right to defense should be further augmented by 1990;

—drafting a law on state security which also governs the activity of the Ministry of State Security, its competence, and the principles of its mode of operation;

—a revision of the People's Police Law in order to more accurately stipulate the tasks and powers in line with the new demands;

—a revision of national defense legislation, in particular the creation of an alternative military service;

—a revision of the customs law with the aim of creating comprehensible legal regulations for citizens.

In assessing the manifold proposals for the social development of the GDR, the changing of or a new version of further legal regulations should be considered. From our viewpoint, for example, on the long-term agenda is the drafting of a new penal code. Our society in general is faced with a need to examine thoroughly, under the conditions of the 1990s, what is criminal and what is not, which articles must be newly and more precisely formulated. Particular importance is attached to strictly preserving the independence of the judge, the unrestricted action of lawyers for the legal protection of citizens, and the far-reaching supervision of the state prosecutor's office of all investigative bodies.

Here, dear comrades, a further comment seems necessary to me: Many are in a state of transfiguration and behave as though the GDR is the only state in the world in which there are protection and security bodies. No particular argument is needed to make clear that it is in the interests of all citizens in our country when, despite a total confrontation of political views, the orderly rhythm of life in our society, the peaceful lives of all citizens, undisturbed work, and, not least, the constitutional foundations of our society continue to be guaranteed. State security and public order are the basic conditions for the renewal of our society.

We show our admiration for those comrades who particularly at this time have so self-sacrificingly dedicated themselves to this task. However, we say just as clearly that in all cases where powers were exceeded, the disciplinary measures set in motion or those under the criminal law correspond to our understanding of justice and the law.

The Constitution states that preparation, execution, and examination are combined in the work of the People's Chamber and of locally elected bodies. Giving this its due, we propose that the Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' inspectorate (ABI) be elected by the People's Chamber, be accountable to it, and work on its behalf. So far the ABI has been an organ of the SED Central Committee and the Council of Ministers. As the body with the broadest popular control, the ABI checks on how laws are being fulfilled by the state, the economy, and how the resolutions of the elected assemblies are being carried out. Watchdog bodies at the center which are not absolutely necessary should be abolished.

We are in favor of extending the brief of the People's Chamber national Defense Committee. Questions of internal security should in the future come under its authority.

At the ninth meeting of the Central Committee I proposed the expansion of constitutional control by means of greater powers for the constitutional and legal committees of the People's Chamber. In the meantime, it has been suggested from various quarters to go one step further and to form a constitutional court which monitors the adherence of the Constitution. We support this proposal.

Our party also proposes to legally limit the period of office of the highest representatives of our state power, i.e., the chairman of the Council of State, the president of the People's Chamber and the prime minister, to two electoral periods.

The renewal of socialist democracy requires the unhindered development of the citizens' will and the citizens' initiative on the foundation of the Constitution in the towns and communities.

It is correct to give the representatives of the citizens' initiatives the possibility of explaining their views in local people's representations. They should be incorporated in permanent or temporary commissions, in working groups or working circles in order to work together on practical solutions.

The personnel, material, and financial foundations of local politics must continue to be strengthened in order to carry through the autonomy of the towns and communities. We propose to set out initial measures within the national economic plan and the state budget plan for 1990 so that the towns and communities have their own stable incomes at their disposal, and so that they may themselves decide on how the income is deployed.

The councils of the areas, districts, and cities must decide for themselves, in accordance with local needs, on the deployment and distribution of state cadres. It is a good thing if, in light of the present situation in Leipzig, Dresden, and other cities, employees from state organs and administrations work temporarily in establishments of the health system, the transport system, trade and supply, and in the services area.

It is recommended to the comrades in the Council of Ministers to set out, in connection with the working out of a directive for the 1991-95 5-year plan, proposals for the expansion of a high- performance local economy in the towns and in the communities. Organizations which provide communal services should be allocated or subordinated to the towns and the communities. This applies especially to the municipal services and housing management enterprises. In this context, it should be considered to entrust towns and municipalities with complete communal responsibility for certain service enterprises, leisure facilities, and other amenities owned by the people.

The SED party groups in local people's representative bodies and the basic organizations of our party in local councils should no longer permit decisions of area and district assemblies, city deputies, city district assemblies, and local community representative bodies to be cancelled on the advice of or by interventions from superior bodies, just as central decisions must be implemented.

All this enables steps toward local self-administration to be accomplished.

With the reform of the political system we support everything which serves the revolutionary renewal of socialism. At the same time, however, we reject views, concepts, and platforms which amount, by changing constitutional foundations, to eroding or even overthrowing the socialist state and social order. We are a party which takes pleasure in reform, but we are not a reformist party.

On Foreign Policy Issues

We live in a world full of dependencies, movement, and contradictions. That requires seeing things as they are and not as we would like them to be.

The positive trends in worldwide development are gaining in strength, above all thanks to the dynamic peace policy of the socialist states. New possibilities for the drastic improvement of international relations are gradually emerging. They must not remain unutilized. At the same time, we do not overlook the fact that influential forces in NATO are holding up advances on the path of disarmament and security through adhering to a policy of strength. We clearly must adapt to a period in which rapid changes are taking place in the world, in which elements of cooperation, competition, and confrontation are interacting, in which the situation remains full of contradictions, and its worsening cannot be ruled out. The GDR must therefore be capable of defense and be in possession of armed forces in order to meet its alliance obligations and its responsibility to the peace policy. We thank the comrades of the National People's Army for their loyal fulfillMent of duty in preventing violations of the GDR's sovereign territory and protecting the peaceful life of GDR citizens against all attacks from outside.

Taking into consideration the contradictory international tendencies, our foreign policy has an active contribution to make to strengthen peace and to create the most favorable external conditions for our policy of renewal. The yardstick here, too, is to resolutely serve the interests of the citizens. It is above all a matter of developing the close alliance with the USSR and the other socialist countries and of increasing the active contribution to security and cooperation within the framework of the joint peace program; of developing the broadest possible cooperation with all forces of political reason who are prepared to promote the active participation of the popular masses in the struggle for peace and disarmament.

The turning point that has been introduced also means to us the strengthening of the GDR as a democratic, antifascist, humanistic, and cosmopolitan socialist state that is predictable at all times. We know that we can count on the affinity and open-mindedness of all those who see in the existence and in the peace policy of the sovereign GDR an indispensable factor of security and stability in Europe.

We are determined to enrich the alliance and collaboration with the CPSU and the USSR qualitatively in accordance with the demands of the time and to develop them further. In this we can—as the 3-hour talk with Mikhail Gorbachev during our working meeting in Moscow on 1 November showed and the results of which are known to the Central Committee—build on full agreement on all questions. This concerns assessing the nature and the requirements of the process of revolutonary restructuring in our countries and also the approach to international issues in the spirit of the new political thinking and in the interests of the solution of mankind's global problems.

At this present time in our country, which is not easy, Mikhail Gorbachev's words are of particular importance to us: "Apart from yourselves, we are probably the people who wish you the most success." Our party unreservedly supports restructuring and renewal in the USSR and will use the positive experiences gathered during this to solve the tasks arising from the change we have started. There can be no half-heartedness about the fraternal bond with the USSR. It is our common goal to work shoulder to shoulder to inaugurate a new quality of comprehensive cooperation with intensive economic collaboration, an increasing exchange of experiences and the promotion of human contacts.

I think that this corresponds most deeply with the feelings of the very large majority of our party members and many citizens in our country that our friendship is no longer a friendship of slogans and declarations but—as is the tradition of our party—it is again becoming a friendship of deeds. The Society for German-Soviet Friendship can make a significant contribution to this as a mass organization, rich in traditions, which embraces all parts of our country's population.

We see a significant guarantee for the success of renewal in the GDR in comprehensive cooperation with all socialist states and in the creative exchange of experiences with the fraternal parties in these countries. We follow the processes started there with great attention without schematically transferring the experiences gathered there to our situation. We are in favor of a mutually demanding and equal relationship of trust in which all learn and gain, give and take.

We have a particular interest in the development of relations with our socialist neighboring states. During the further development of the traditionally friendly relations with the CSSR we are prepared to commence on new paths and to exploit far more strongly the potentials of both our states for the well-being of the people. There will be the opportunity very soon to exchange our thoughts with the CSSR's leading representatives.

In the talks with the Polish president and the chairman of the Council of Ministers and with the first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee on 2 November in Warsaw, the mutual will was expressed to further expand cooperation with our immediate neighbor in the east in the interests of the people of the GDR and Poland. It represents an important factor for security and peace in Europe.

The GDR is fulfilling its obligations in the Warsaw Pact. It is during this very period of upheaval that we support more effective cooperation within the framework of the socialist defense coalition. We will actively participate in the collective efforts to convert it even more from a military-political into a political-military alliance. Despite all differences and problems we are ready to unite our forces and potentials in the interests of our common cause. We will introduce our constructive, realistic ideas into the cooperation of the member countries of CEMA. We must not restrict ourselves to mere statements, but must help to master joint tasks by our own contributions.

Since its founding, tireless work for peace and disarmament has identified our socialist republic. It is the result of the obligation to ensure that war will never again emanate from German soil. At the side of the Soviet Union and the other allies we will play our part to see to it that 1990 will be a year of new peace steps. We hope that the agreed summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush will lead to an understanding on far-reaching agreements to reduce the nuclear arsenals as well as on other important international questions.

The GDR will intensify its efforts to ensure that agreements will be reached as soon as possible at the Vienna negotiations on conventional armed forces as well as on new confidence and security- building measures. This also means consistently fulfilling the agreed unilateral disarmament steps.

As a concrete contribution to confidence-building and more predictability, the GDR National Defense Council will discuss the draft military doctrine and then submit it to the relevant committees and the plenum of the People's Chamber for public discussion and adoption.

The GDR will also work in this spirit at the seminar of the 35 CSCE states on the problem of military doctrines, which is to take place early next year.

It remains a front-rank security policy concern of the GDR that negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe should be commenced as soon as possible. Now that the prospects for a first agreement in Vienna are improving, the commencement of these negotiations should still be possible in 1990.

Partial steps on the path toward far-reaching disarmament and confidence-building are also sensible. That has been our view for a long time. This is why we support the readiness of the USSR, as stated by Mikhail Gorbachev in Helsinki, to agree to guarantees with all nuclear powers and neighboring states for a nuclear-weapons free Baltic and greet the decision to scrap unilaterally their nuclear- armed submarines stationed there.

Effective disarmament is only possible in Europe if such a significant weapons category as that of the naval forces is not excluded. As the contribution of the GDR in achieving more safety at sea, we propose to conclude a multilateral agreement on the prevention of incidents on or over the Baltic and the North Sea. The GDR is ready to set out its concrete proposals on this to all littoral states or all CSCE states.

We greet the fact that U.S. chemical weapons stocks are to be withdrawn from FRG territory in 1990. Central Europe will thereby become free of chemical weapons. We suggest that the affected states, above all, however, the GDR, the CSSR, and the FRG, commence negotiations or expert talks in order to secure this situation under international law, to prepare it from a security policy viewpoint, and to monitor it.

Our position at the center of Europe and our history and future mean that our foreign policy is directed to a high degree toward our continent. The GDR will continue to cooperate as an active participant in the CSCE process. In this the obligations within our own country are as valid as those in relations with all partners involved in this process. For us, international law and internal state law are not a contradiction. The necessary new quality of socialist democracy and the further shaping of our socialist state based on the rule of law must be linked to a comprehensive concept on maintaining our country's interests and those of its citizens in all areas. We will thereby create new scope for ourselves to become more actively involved in European developments. We support holding the CSCE meeting planned for 1992 in Helsinki at the highest level.

The socialist German state is prepared to play its part in the construction of a common European home. It must remain of basic significance in this that those political and territorial realities are not encroached upon, which we include among the foundations of the house—Europe—which is to be built. We are unsettled by tendencies in the policies of imperialist forces aimed at overcoming socialism in Europe. Stating this is highly topical in view of revived calls for the revision of existing frontiers in Europe. This is why it fills us with concern that in the FRG the demon of nationalism and revanchism is again growing apace and that neo- Nazism is on the advance.

As far as relations with the FRG are concerned we reaffirm: The existence of two sovereign, independent German states, reasonable cooperation and predictability in their bilateral relations remain indispensable conditions for stability on our continent.

Like the FRG, the GDR is a sovereign state. Through wise, well- considered steps both could help strengthen peace in Europe and beyond its borders. Therefore, we allow no doubt to arise about our readiness, in agreement with the Basic Treaty and the joint communique of September 1987, to expand cooperation and to raise it to a higher level. In this we will make all the better progress if the FRG is guided by reason and a sense of reality without wishful thinking and cyclical fluctuations.

The socialist GDR is continuing vis-a-vis the FRG the policy of peaceful coexistence, respect for territorial integrity, full sovereignty, equal rights and noninterference. Just as socialism in the GDR is not negotiable, the borders between the GDR and the FRG and West Berlin cannot be called into question. The basic principle of Helsinki remains: Inviolable and secure borders are a basic condition for peace in Europe.

Equipped with respective domestic and foreign policy competences of their own, neither of the two German states should keep the other in a state of tutelage. This relates in particular to the "caring duty for all Germans" which has been assumed. It is in the interests of good-neighborly cooperation between the two German states and peace in Europe for the FRG Government to decide to respect GDR citizenship.

We believe: Precisely in these turbulent times the GDR and FRG must remain stabilizing factors in relations among European states and give impulses for greater security and cooperation. From the current point of view we would like to submit the following proposals over and above the negotiations already under way with the FRG:

The formation of a supraparty working group of the two states to undertake a comparison of the military doctrines of the GDR and the FRG and submit to the governments and the highest people's representations proposals for adoption which aim to reach an incapacity for attack on the part of the National People's Army and the Bundeswehr. This working group could also submit proposals to the governments and parliaments as to how financial resources freed by disarmament measures can be spent to some extent on the solution of cross-border ecological problems.

The formation, already agreed on in September 1987, of a joint economic commission should be tackled immediately. We want to shape our economic cooperation more closely and on a contractual basis and create cooperative and permanent forms for this. The stabilizing function of trade between the GDR and the FRG should be expanded.

We propose to form a consultation group of experts from both states which will set out proposals on questions of travel and tourism in both directions.

Possibilities for a commercial exchange of selected specialist journals, including fashion journals, should be checked between the responsible ministries of the GDR and the FRG. This exchange should include the free sale of these publications according to the principle of mutuality in both states. We readily take up considerations in the FRG to feed GDR television programs into the cable network of the FRG and thereby to adhere to a recommendation in the CSCE Final Acts and subsequent documents on the free exchange of information and opinion.

Concerning all these proposals, they do not ignore the interests of Berlin (West). We see many possibilities for further developing the relations between the GDR and Berlin (West).

The GDR will remain in the future as well a reliable partner of the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It will committedly support the justified proposals of these states, their search for independent paths toward the solution of their national and social problems just as much as the continuation of the efforts toward a peaceful settlement of regional conflicts and the striving for a new international economic order on an equal foundation.

Through the dialogue within the GDR, our dialogue with the outside world is now experiencing considerable enrichment. In this connection, I should like to affirm: We are ready for dialogue with the broadest forces, with Communists, Social Democrats, Greens, Liberals, Christian Democrats, and the peace movements—in short, with all those to whom the cares and problems of men and people matter greatly. We see here at the same time a significant sphere of activity for all the other GDR parties and organizations, which must share more than before in sustaining the foreign policy of our republic.

It is one of the recognized achievements of our party that it has made an effective contribution to dialogue and to joint initiatives with socialist and social democratic parties. Unfortunately, there have recently been strains in our party's relations, especially with the SPD. The vital issues of our time demand that our policy of dialogue with social democratic and socialist parties be pursued unwaveringly. We are prepared to continue cooperation between the SED and the SPD, in particular on issues of security policy—particularly since the draft of a document to bring about a structural offensive incapability in Central Europe has to a large extent been agreed between our parties.

As has already been stressed at the ninth session of our Central Committee, we stand by our firm internationalist solidarity with our comrades in arms in the communist and workers' parties. Our party will continue to see the most important concern of its international activity in surmounting varying views and differences of opinions among communists, fundamental divergences in the forces of the workers' movement, to promote points which they have in common and cooperation among them, in the interests of the survival and of the solution of mankind's other global problems.

The Renewal of Socialism and Its Demand on Our Party

Amid the hard struggle, we are more than ever conscious of the fact that the strength we communists need is provided by the unity and cohesion of our party. The truth is all the more bitter that the relationship of trust between the party leadership and the grass roots of the party is disrupted. For this reason the entire strength of the Central Committee, its Politburo, and the general secretary must be used to mold the party. United actions by all comrades presumes a supportable political concept on the part of the Central Committee for the change which has been started.

Comrades, as well as many party and work collectives, academics, artists, and other personages have called for a party action program in thousands of letters to the SED Central Committee, which does justice to the seriousness of the situation and which shows directions for solutions. They have submitted their proposals on this. This action program is before the Central Committee as a draft. We intend to pass it after a thorough debate and to fulfill it with all the strength of our people who are interested in the socialist perspective of the GDR.

Our party can only lead the renewal of socialism in the GDR if it renews itself. We have the strength, the will, and the ability to do this. Our party has decades of leadership experience in the building of a society which is committed to antifascism, peace, and internationalism. No one can talk the historical truth out of existence: Without the SED, without the unity of the workers' movement, without the unity of our party, there would be no socialist German state. It initiated the turning point in German history, from which the GDR peace state emerged. It allied itself with the progressive forces of society and set out with them on the road to new social horizons.

We have always seen our responsibility as the obligation to seek out everything that is progressive in society, to use it for the development of socialism, and to guarantee people a life in peace and social security. No one can reverse this: It also applies at this hour, when it is a matter of the revolutionary restructuring of our society for the creation of guarantees for more socialism through more democracy.

We must bind the renewal of socialism in the GDR and the renewal of the party firmly to one another. This requires a strong SED, capable of action and imbued with new, democratic self-confidence.

That requires:

—the creation of all guarantees for a democratic formation of opinion and will in all party kollektivs, for increased democratic initiatives by the basic organizations, for creative work by all party bodies;

—flexible reactions to the constantly changing conditions of socialism, a constant democratic debate, and a process of forming opinions which occurs both from the bottom upwards and vice versa;

—shaping anew the relationship between science and politics, debate within science, and the working out of alternatives on coming to political decisions, the overcoming of dogmatism and schematicism;

—the disengagement of party and state which brings new possibilities for democratizing the process of reaching decisions, which guarantees the harmong of responsibility and authority and which creates the necessary social watchdog mechanisms;

—the negation of the administration and the taking up of responsibility by our party for its political-conceptual and content-oriented work, the winning of majorities of elected bodies and amongst the population by expertise, orientation, and the ability to prevail;

—constructive dialogue and constant openness as an expression of the changed way in which the party works and of a necessary new political culture in our society. Together with the other parties the SED takes its specific place in the political structure of our society. It takes up its responsibility by making its contribution to the democratic process of forming will and making decisions, takes up various social, political and ideological interests and represents them on the basis of the socialist constitution as well as having a balancing effect in conflict between differing interests;

—clear political-strategic, theoretical, and ideological orientation of the party towards social renewal, promotion of an open, creative dispute of opinions on all levels; the expansion of the scope for independent initiative and activity by all basic, district, and area organizations within the framework of the centrally-adopted resolutions; strengthening of the role of the basic organizations for the development of the overall will of the party; priority of the party congresses, party conferences, all elected leaderships over the staff of the full-time central party bodies;

—greater openness about the adopted resolutions at all levels; guarantee of a regular cadre renewal of leading party organs through the stipulation of time limits for functionaries right up to the general secretary of the SED; open cultivation of individual personality profiles on the part of the leading party officials; implementation of the performance principle [reward according to performance] for full-time party workers; establishment of a productive interaction between science and politics for all aspects of party work.

Filling these requirements with life means overcoming pragmatism in the party with a scientific style of leadership. This includes developing, in the Leninist spirit, true democracy within the party, which ensures the influence of our party members on the policy and the whole practical activity of the party.

The renewal of our society represents a challenge to our party which affects all aspects of our work. We have to demonstrate clearly on a renewed foundation. under completely changed conditions, the ability to address all progressive forces in our society and to proceed with them along new paths of the development of socialism. In this regard, it is necessary to elaborate a new statute and recommend it to the 12th party congress and to make a decision on preparing a new party program. It must be defined here how our party will maintain its responsibility in the renewal of socialism in all fields of the social life of the GDR and gain it anew daily with new content, proposals, and forms.

We must resolutely challenge the variety of ideas and opinions of the comrades in debate, from the Central Committee right down to every basic organization, in order to come to assessments of and decisions on social processes which are supported and consciously implemented by everyone. That is the basis of conscious discipline within the party which arises from knowledge, conviction, and common responsibility, and which rules out any dependence. That corresponds to the nature of democratic centralism; it must be liberated from all bureaucratic and formal restrictions. The increasing variety of opinions must lead to forceful and unified actions.

Such a quality of life within the party must now be achieved very quickly in every party collective. Only in this way will the GDR's communists inspire a debate for the party congress in the entire country and be able to submit their own constructive possible solutions for the development problems and conflicts of interest within socialism. The people, the problems, and time are pressing.

In everything our party tackles in the restructuring of society, we rely to a particular extent on the young generation, in particular the Free German Youth [FDJ]. For this reason we understand the resolutions passed by the 12th session of the FDJ Central Council as a call to our party and to all of society to pay significantly more attention to the civic education of youth, to take their thoughts and proposals very seriously, to accept their independence and their urge to take responsibility for themselves, to draw them into decision-making on all issues and at all levels, and to thoroughly expand the opportunities for representing their interests. The confidence of young people and students in our party and their support for the social changes already begun will develop to the extent to which their words are heard and their deeds are asked for.

We now want to win over those young people as candidates who are willing to devote their entire personality to the goals, ideals, and values of socialism, and who want to lead the way in the renewal of socialist society with passion and skill. In this sense, campaigns and formal allowances in order to win candidates for the party are ruled out.

The general meetings in the SED basic organizations should base their decision on admission to the party on

the requirements stipulated in the statute. In this we must always bear in mind that young people making their way in our ranks always, but especially at present, have many questions and question many things.

We must not ignore the fact that the manifestations of rigidity and stagnation in the party caused many comrades to turn their backs on the party in disappointment. This year the admission of 36,000 candidates contrasts with 66,000 resignations, cancellations, and suspensions. Other comrades in arms were expelled from the party. Letters to the Central Committee show that many former SED members and those who received unjustified party penalties have still not renounced their loyalty to the party. We should instruct the Party Control Commission to undertake a speedy and unbiased examination of such party proceedings. Equally, the Party Control Commission must examine complaints and remarks from party members, and also from unaffiliated citizens, where party members have misused their function for personal gain.

The statutory rights and obligations of the Party Control and Revision Commissions at all levels are to be restored and used to their full extent. Where necessary these commissions are to be strengthened with more cadres. Comrades who enjoy trust belong at their head. Misdemeanors by comrades which damage the party's reputation are to be revealed without regard for the person involved, to be punished in accordance with the statute, and to be passed on to the courts in the case of violations of the GDR's laws.

The Central Committee reasserts the full and unrestricted validity of the party's statute for every comrade—without exception—and calls upon party members and functionaries at all levels to act committedly in accordance with the norms of our Marxist-Leninist party, and to stop any violations of the statute.

The Politburo should be given the task of working out an electoral directive in preparation for the coming party elections which—starting from the statute—allows internal party democracy to be more committedly implemented, and to guarantee a critical and creative discussion on the variety of ideas and proposals on mastering the new tasks.

At the same time new rules on electing the Central Committee are to be put forward. It should be their basic concern to fashion further the democratic character of the secret ballot, to secure the right of any member of the party acting as a delegate to be elected to the leadership and to offer the opportunity for more candidates to stand for the executives then there are posts. The Politburo considers it necessary to rework the SED's guidelines on contributions on the basis of current proposals and suggestions.

In an atmosphere of lively internal party democracy, cadres will emerge who are capable of understanding issues of social development dialectically, that is, analyzing them unsparingly and finding bold ways of solving them. We need more cadres, above all younger ones, whose strength of character, expertise, and moral integrity, whose Marxist-Leninist education, whose political and ideological steadfastness and tolerance, and whose fine sense of the cares and needs of people appeals to those who think differently and wins them for cooperation in renewing socialism. Our party has many such functionaries and members who are highly educated, both politically and in their fields, at its disposal. Even today that is our strength.

The activity of party organizations at all levels, of their elected executives as well as of all our party's functionaries must be altered in accordance with the new demands. We intend to regain the confidence of our country's citizens in the party with honesty and expertise as well as energetic and responsible actions. Party executives at all levels are to be strengthened even before the party elections by the inclusion of capable, young, and, above all, younger comrades.

The campaign of the exchange of party documents is to be concluded with a resolution by the members' meeting in which the next specific tasks in the relevant area of responsibility are laid down on the basis of a short and realistic assessment of the basic organizations' fighting strength.

After the plenary session the district and area executives will be confronted with the task of passing their measures on the assessment of our 10th session in accordance with their specific conditions. The most important thing remains that all members and candidate members of the Central Committee, the members of all our party's executives, the comrades in the unions, in the FDJ and in the other mass organizations, that all communists no matter where they work, enter into converation with all comrades at members' meetings on the content of our program of action, the discussion and further resolutions at our 10th session. Our party's basic organizations, and the work kollectivs are our most important interlocutors. We want to take our policy of renewal to the masses offensively and constructively. By the intense debate within our ranks we are girding ourselves for the dialogue with all citizens in the interests of this country, which is home to all of us.

Schabowski Speech at 10 Nov CC Session

AU1611174589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11-12 Nov 89 p 11

[Speech by Guenter Schabowski, member of the Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee, and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk SED leadership, at the 10th SED Central Committee session in Berlin on 10 November: "Responsible Citizens and Responsible Journalists Need Each Other"]

[Text] Dear Comrades:

If newspapers, which formerly had the reputation of being printed deadwood, suddenly are in high demand, if people line up at the newsstands in the morning and

complain that there are not enough copies of JUNGE WELT, BERLINER ZEITUNG, DER MORGEN, NEUE ZEIT, or NEUES DEUTSCHLAND for sale, then this is a symptom of the fact that the media are playing a special role in the process of renewal. This has to be correctly assessed in connection with the new definition of socialism and democracy.

In dealing with the processes of restructuring in the Soviet Union in theoretical terms, we find, among other things, the insight that the development of democracy can save society from repeating mistakes of the past. It is considered the most important guarantee for making restructuring in the Soviet Union irreversible. This train of thought ends in the phrase: The more socialist democracy, the more socialism.

Of course, no one can say that we have to start from scratch in this field. However, despite the democratic achievements, experiences, values, and forms achieved over the 4 decades of worker-peasant power, an increasing demand for democracy among the population has not been met.

Today we understand better—or, more precisely, our attention was painfully drawn to this fact by the popular movement—that the variety and difference in interests in socialism go hand in hand with conflicts of interests, which have to be settled. So far our political system has not offered the necessary leeway to settle them in harmony with the goals and values of socialism. The variety of interests and opinions results in a differentiated media scenery. This is the starting situation for renewal. At the same time, it makes clear that it is absurd to say—as the other side is doing—that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] is assuming the role of controller of the media. How should the SED do this given the large number of journalistic institutions, which do not belong to the SED.

Media—Persistent and Most Wide-Spread Form of Dialogue

We see this question in a totally different way. In the center of socialist democracy there is the responsible citizen; his often-quoted responsibility means the ability to act for socialism and for the benefit of all. It is based on being given solid information about social processes and events, on the opportunity to contribute publicly technical knowledge. In this way he trains the ability for balancing interests through dialogue. This dialogue, for its part, serves the control of responsibility in society. The people's elected organs of power, the political parties, but also other social forces, groups, and associations offer space for this.

However, the media are still—without competition—a persistent and most widespread form of dialogue between the people and the party, between the people and the government. The issue is not, as in the past, a page in a newspaper or a cast as the tribune of socialist democracy. The issues are the basic factors, which have to be provided by the press so that the processes of social formation of will and decision-making take place in the correct way. The media are indispensable for this because they have to provide the quality of information, which these processes require. For this one needs the differentiation and the independent responsibility of the media. They can also make essential contributions to the yardsticks of a culture of political conflict in socialism on the basis of the socialist Constitution.

As a result of all these considerations we welcome the initiated working out of a media law, which has been suggested by the Journalists' Association.

In this connection, the work of the Communists in our party's media, as well as in the electronic media, which are the ones that have the widest dissemination and which are controlled by the state, gains increasing importance. The variety of opinions and media as a condition for the balance of interests in the socialist society is inconceivable without an increased communist quality of the press of the SED. A determined class standpoint, the thorough dealing with the party's line are as elementary for the work of the party journalist as they are for the work of a director general, who—in a risky situation, which will occur more often for a manager in a reformed national economy—has to make that decision which promises the highest benefit for socialism.

The party journalist must not only be able to understand and explain the interlacing of individual and group interests with the interest of all of society, he must, above all, be able to win the reader, the political partner. Thus, social leadership and social advance of the party is implemented via our media. Therefore, we cannot and must not ever again bring the journalists into a situation and treat them as if they were political babies, who only do something when they are given the bottle of political guidance. In addition to a whitewashed journalism, the fatal results were also a wait-and-see journalism, which left the dominance of the political airspace to the media of the opponent, in particular to the manipulators of television and radio.

The task of the corresponding sphere of responsibility of the Central Committee should consist in cutting the ties of non-independence and non-responsibility and in replacing them with relations which aim at political qualification. Not depriving journalists of responsibility but transferring it to the journalists of the party, to the editorial boards, will ensure their ability to effectively transform the party line for the daily struggle, in particular for the comrades in the party organizations, for their political work at the workplace, in the residential areas, etc. Responsible citizens and responsible journalists depend on each other in the process of socialist renewal. Therefore, the relationship of the Politburo, the media, and the party press, in particular of the department commissioned with this by the Politburo, with the editorial boards of the party press has to change.

I would like to propose calling the department something that better corresponds to today's requirements: The

term agitation does not seem to leave enough leeway in this respect. It does not take into consideration—or only insufficiently so—the increasing role of information for the shaping of socialism. It also does not comprise the differentiated nature which characterizes our media scenery and which again has to have an effect on a differentiated information policy, on varied and up-to-date forms of cooperation with press, radio, and television in the spirit of the renewal of socialism and of the party, which I mentioned in the beginning.

I think of a name such as "Information Policy and Media." Instructions, administration, the detailed orders of when, where, in which kind of script, and in which tone of voice news has to be reported are to be replaced with independent creative and responsible work by the comrade Communists on the basis of the party decisions.

We Have to Gradually Fill Up Holes of Trust and Creativity

The journalists' department of the Leipzig Karl-Marx University has submitted a thick compendium, which describes the place, tasks, and the role of the media in our time. One asks how could an individual or several individuals have the idea of dominating these indefinitely varied qualities and possibilities of our newspapers, of the press, from one standpoint. We have to gradually fill the holes of political trust and creativity that were caused by this in the editorial teams.

Dear comrades:

We cannot avoid a merciless look into the past if we want to prevent ourselves from repeating old mistakes. We have to admit that over the past years the press of the SED has contributed little or nothing to the development of new and necessary qualities of socialist democracy. Even worse, because of a very forced whitewashing it has lost much of its own credibility in the eyes of the readers, listeners, and viewers. It is, however, important to stress that this is not the fault of the journalists. Quite a few of them have repeatedly tried to honestly break through to the awareness of the reality and to openly discuss market social problems.

They got severe bruises when they collided with the iron prohibition signs of the Agitation Department.

Justice commands noting that the comrades of the department, who today are the recipients of the wave of rage and criticism because of a failed media policy and who are also no longer accepted as partners of the journalists, futilely tried to let another wind enter the media scenery.

After the eighth SED Congress everything started in a rather promising way. Comrade Honecker, newly elected general secretary at that time, repeatedly advised politicians and journalists to stick to the facts. He not only said that history has to be shown in the way it really was, better historical essays and history books were also written. He insisted that the pictures of historical personalities must no longer be retouched or cut and that this method of obsolete changes of history had to be ended.

It was liberating that he ordered information about disasters of accidents in socialism to be as thorough and comprehensive as about disasters in capitalism.

This was a bit of humaneness in our press, comrades. The readers felt it when such events affected the GDR. They did not have to hide their grief, their misery, and their solidarity.

At that time it was usual not only in the GDR but also in other socialist countries that a plane crash, for instance, in a socialist country was ignored or played down because things that must not exist, cannot exist, perhaps because socialist planes fly forever like the legendary Flying Dutchman.

At that time even the central organ received the opportunity to establish new structures, contents, and a new layout.

During the second half of the 1970's and at the beginning of the 1980's this loosening up was not extended.

Absurd media practices started to spread. The political delay of news, that is delayed information about allegedly unpleasant facts, which every citizen knew already 3 days before from, among others, FRG television, turned the journalists into chronic late-comers. A specific form of information was non-information. One supposed or knew that if something widely known was not reported, that is, when it allegedly did not exist, something markedly critical had to be behind it. In commentaries a strange kind of polemic was frequently found: The shadowboxing with opposing arguments, which, however, were not permitted to be quoted, because the opinions of the opponent should not be given a forum. The editorial teams received readers' letters, which asked against what or against whom some commentary was actually directed. The comrades, who were looking for aid in their arguments, were indeed told to read between the lines of their own newspapers.

Reason for Damaging Decisions Are Subjectivism and Abuse of Party Discipline

In economic management fields of the Central Committee, comrades were working—often certainly to their own displeasure—who, instead of giving urgently necessary aid, for instance in mastering the problems of subcontractor deliveries, looked through our newspapers to punish severely a journalist who somewhere came indecently close to economic reality. Just a few months ago, the bezirk leaderships in Magdeburg and Berlin, for instance, were able to prevent the punishment of journalistic "deviations" toward the truth. Until a short time ago the most challenging deception of the readers and the public were the monthly economic statistics about the monthly plan fulfillment, which were published until

recently. This degradation of a serious form of information such as statistics, has aroused dismay among many workers about the contradiction, which emerged between the fanfares of glory and the reality of supplies in their sphere of work and life.

A particular tragedy was the coverage of the processes of restructuring in the Soviet Union. Comrade Sieber discussed this.

The Politburo sees the most important reason for these and other mistakes in subjectivism and in the abuse of party discipline of party journalists, which emanated from the Politburo. This led to damaging decisions and considerable wrong developments in the sphere of the media.

In addition to the general responsibility, which every Politburo member has to bear for the false developments in the country, I have to admit to a personal responsibility, which has not made the election to this Secretariat post easy for me. Until I started working at the side of the Berlin comrades in the Berlin Bezirk leadership—a work which I have grown to like very much —I was editor in chief of the central organ for some years. Thus, I myself was both the subject and the object of developments which we have to criticize very harshly today. This cannot be denied in any way.

I gained this insight not least by the down-to-earth work in the bezirk leadership. Suddenly I was dealing with unfiltered reality. I considered this as a great, salutary apprenticeship.

I will and want to try, comrades, to make up for the sins of the past in my sphere of responsibility. I will try with all my strength to overcome—in intensive talks with the comrades in the editorial teams and with all possible aids for decision-making—the skepticism, insecurity, resignation reigning among the Communists in the media and to bring them to new self-confidence, to the use of their creative skills for the party's course of renewal.

Broadest Possible Publicity Is an Essential Guarantee

I would like to comment briefly on the part of the action program, which deals with this topic. Perhaps, dear comrades, it would be more appropriate or also more honest to entitle it: for comprehensive information and freedom of the media. Everything which I said about the role of the party press could be misunderstood in the sense that it does not deal with free media. Indeed, our relationship, the relationship of the Central Committee with NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, is basically not different from that of the executive committee of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany with DER MORGEN or that of the church with its church publications.

For understanding the term freedom of the media, to me, considerations seem to be useful, which Professor Dr Odermann of the Communications Policy Department of the Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence conveyed to me. He says: In my view, freedom of the media in a renewed socialist society must be the right to public understanding between different social groups on the basis of the socialist Constitution.

An essential guarantee is the broadest possible publicity. The structural security of broadest possible publicity lies in the principle of the publisher. This means, the publisher of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND is the Central Committee.

The publishers, no matter to which party or organization or social groups they belong, should be responsible for the contents of their public statements. A socialist media law would be the institutional guarantee, which obligates the state to do everything so that the media fulfill their public social assignment to be mediators of public opinion and to affect it, to develop a process of the democratic formation of opinion and will, and to thus contribute to an effective socialist democracy.

As in their relationship with the state, publishers and those responsible for the media should come to an understanding about the basic moral-ethical norms of their domestic and foreign policy work. In addition, the important tasks of the journalists' basic and advanced training should be stressed to preserve the freedom of the media and the journalists' professional ethics. This is what Prof Odermann says.

I think that these are pieces of advice that are really worth thinking about in the discussion about media policy and the freedom of the media.

Now it seems to me to be most important that we, the members of the Central Committee, put ourselves shoulder to shoulder with all members of the party, as the Berlin workers said at their meeting in front of the Central Committee building—Thank you.

Further on Horn at Council of Europe Session

Applies for Membership

LD1611211189 Budapest MTI in English 1925 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Strasbourg, November 16 (MTI)—On Thursday, Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn officially lodged Hungary's application for full membership with the 23-nation Council of Europe.

As reported, Mr Horn also outlined Hungary's position to the Council of Europe committee of ministers and deposited the documents for joining the Council's conventions on the conservation of wildlife and natural habitats, foreign law and cultural cooperation.

The Hungarian foreign minister conferred on Thursday with Anders Bjorck, president of the Council of Europe parliamentary assembly, about the schedule of joining the conventions. He was told Hungary's eligibility for full membership of the organization would be much more likely in the approach to the Hungarian parliamentary elections, the usual Council practice.

At noon, Mr Horn formally handed over the document to Secretary-General Mme Catherine La Lumiere [name and title as received] in the vaulted hall where the committee of ministers sits. He also presented the committee with a message from Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth.

Mr Horn's contribution and the Hungarian application were warmly received by foreign ministers Helmut Schaefer of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mme Edit Cresson of France, Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson of Iceland—Iceland is the current president of the European Free Trade Association—and Mr Bondevik of Norway, current chairman of the committee of ministers [name and title as received]

During his visit to Strasbourg, Gyula Horn held talks with foreign ministers Rene Felber of Switzerland and Mark Eyskens of Belgium about bilateral relations and the 24-nation support for Hungarian reforms.

Addresses Session

LD1711184689 Budapest MTI in English 1720 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Strasbourg, November 16 (MTI)—New historical prospects have opened up for the East-West relation in central and Eastern Europe, said Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn in Strasbourg, addressing the committee of ministers of the Council of Europe.

Expressing his thanks for the invitation, Mr Horn stated that there are no separate bourgeois or socialist democracies. The distinction used so far was only used in East Europe to conceal the monopolization of power by an elite which was anti-democracy. Today, a return to a monolithic socio-political system in Hungary is only possible unlawfully by violence.

Alongside reforms, the Republic of Hungary needs the change of political and economic system, and the change is progressing rapidly. The new system will ensure the freedom of political and economic enterprise, which is the essence of European character.

We desire a political and economic system which creates well-being for all socity. A system in which there is no place for subjugation, defencelessness and privileges.

We wish to create a people's and democratic socio-political system, in the true sense of the word, Mr Horn said.

The foreign minister particularly noted that the ruling party and government have historical merits in the coming into existence of the Republic of Hungary, as they themselves initiated the dissolution of their power monopoly.

Following, Mr Horn called attention to the fact that the Republic of Hungary was declared amidst expressly unfavourable economic conditions.

It is vital for the Republic of Hungary to create a new-type cooperation with the developed countries of the world, thereby creating new conditions of development for the country. We hold it an integral part of the new status quo to safeguard Hungary's membership in the Warsaw Treaty, and to strengthen the good relation and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries. The new status quo also means we establish close relations with the West European integration organizations, the Council of Europe, the EFTA and the European Communities, and this is why we are now presenting our request for membership in the Council of Europe, the foreign minister said.

Proposal on Dam Project Submitted to CSSR

LD1611102589 Budapest MTI in English 1345 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 15 (MTI)—The Ministry of Justice has drawn up a proposed amendment to the inter-state agreement on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam project, and a note was presented to the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest early November.

Tamas Ban, head of the Ministry's international law department, told MTI's correspondent that the current changes in neighbouring countries allow for the suggestion that the Czechoslovak partner also has a realistic judgement of the situation and will not evade starting talks. As marking time does not serve the interests of either side, it is considered partners might agree, through further compromises, on modifying the inter-state agreement, abandoning the Nagymlhos project and, under an adequate system of guarantees, using the Gabcikovo dam in a basic mode of operation.

Should the Czechoslovak side refuse to talk and start rechannelling the Danube, further question's are likely to

arise. as the common frontier would be affected, Hungary could turn to the great powers guaranteeing the Trianon and Paris Peace Treaties. It is debatable whether it would be worthwhile for Czechoslovakia to face international complications for them to attain, although at variance with the Hungarian compromise proposal, the same goal, namely the use of the Gabcikovo hydroelectric plant in a basic mode of operation.

Justice Official on Project

LD1611104489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] [Announcer] The proposed amendment of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian interstate agreement concluded in 1977 in the matter of Gabcikovo-Nagymaros has been completed. Julia Torzsa has spoken to Tamas Ban, department head in the Ministry of Justice.

[Torzsa] What are the main points of this amendment proposal?

[Ban] It very faithfully follows the concept that has in principle been approved by the National Assembly. Instead of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage system, a one-piece water barrage system will be built—a Gabcikovo water barrage, which in the proposal we shall call a shared Danube water barrage. There will be no peak-running; the Nagymaros water barrage will not be built, and this agreement project will also contain a complementary ecological agreement which will guarantee the water quality in the Dunakiliti- Hrusov reservoir.

[Torzsa] What commitments does this proposed amendment place upon us? Will we have to pay compensation to the Czechoslovak side?

[Ban] This agreement does not wish to deal with issues of compensation. There has been no infringement of international law by the Hungarian side. Losses have arisen obviously, on both sides. Even according to the Hungarian view, we shall have to deal with the settlement of these mutual losses, costs and expenditures. In this end this will also have to happen.

[Torzsa] Is there any hope that the Czechoslovak side will accept this?

[Ban] If we look at what has gone before, then obviously one cannot be too optimistic. But if the Hungarian Government saw no hope for an agreement then this agreement proposal would not be drawn up either.

[Torzsa] How far will this amendment burden Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations?

[Ban] In the worst case it might perhaps burden them for years. However, as neighboring states, we have to find the solution for bridging this present problem.

Medgyessy, Delegation Depart for Tokyo 14 Nov

LD1411213589 Budapest MTI in English 1449 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 14 (MTI)—Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy and a Hungarian delegation left for Tokyo on Tuesday to participate in the high-level informal conference of limited attendance, which is to discuss current issues of international trade, and the GATT round in progress. The conference, which is to take place November 15 to 17, is to be attended by representatives of 26 countries.

During his stay in Tokyo, Mr Medgyessy is expected to meet Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu.

Hold Talks With Ministers

LD1611033589 Budapest MTI in English 1541 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Tokyo, November 15 (MTI)—Headed by Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy, a Hungarian Government delegation arrived in Tokyo on Wednesday [15 November]

After his arrival, Mr Medgyessy held talks with Foreign Minister Nakajama Taro on relations between the two countries. He also conferred with Maysunaga Hikaru, minster of foreign trade and industry, on questions of bilateral market cooperation and other economic issues.

The delegation, which also includes Deputy Trade Minister Tibor Melega, is in Tokyo to attend the next ministerial conference in GATT's Uruguayan round. Representatives from 26 countries have been invited to the two-day official meeting, including Hungary, the first socialist country to be invited.

Japan's Prime Minister To Visit

LD1611131689 Budapest MTI in English 0736 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Tokyo, November 16 (MTI)—Kaifu Toshiki, prime minister of Japan, is planning to visit Hungary in January, said Nakayama Taro, minister of foreign affairs, to Peter Medgyessy, deputy prime minister, on Wednesday. Mr Medgyessy is in Tokyo as head of a delegation participating in the non-official ministerial conference in the Uruguay round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

Peter Medgyessy and Matsunaga Hikaru, minister of international trade and industry, surveyed the bilateral relations between the two countries. The Hungarian deputy prime minister called on Japanese business circles to step up their direct investments in Hungary's chemical and vehicle industry, as well as tourism.

Mr Matsunaga said they were making arrangements for the Hungarian visit of a Japanese delegation next spring, and experts were to study investment possibilities. They

were considering support in two areas, namely, environmental protection and specialist training.

Horn Receives UK, Israeli Delegations 13 Nov

LD1511143589 Budapest MTI in English 1703 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 13 (MTI) - On Monday, Istvan Fodor, acting president for the National Assembly, met a delegation of British and Israeli MPs, to honour the memory of Hanna Szenes. The delegation was led by Hayim Corfu, deputy speaker of the Israeli parliament.

Hanna Szenes parachuted into Hungary as a British Army lieutenant during the 2nd World War to help Hungarian Jews. The Palestinian Jewish community volunteer was executed in Budapest on November 7, 1944.

In the course of the cordial meeting, Istvan Fodor gave a survey on the political and economic processes in Hungary. Answering questions, he voiced his opinion that at least five parties would acquire mandates as a result of the elections.

Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs, also met the delegation on Monday. The head of the Hungarian diplomacy surveyed the changes under way in Europe. The exchange of views also touched on bilateral relations.

The meeting was also attended by John Allan Birch, ambassador of the United Kingdom, and Slomo Marom, ambassador of Israel.

Joint Military Exercises To Be Held Sep 1990

LD1611033889 Budapest MTI in English 1521 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 15 (MTI)—Hungary has informed the CSCE members through diplomatic channels that a joint Hungarian-Soviet-Czechoslovak military exercise, "Shield-90", will be held in Hungary in September 1990 with some 8,000 soldiers. It is the sole major military activity planned for next year.

As the Stockholm Accord on the mutual announcement and inspection of military manoeuvres calls for compulsory advance notification only if the number of participants is 13,000. Hungary's voluntary step is intended to promote openness in the military, and confidence between CSCE states, in keeping with the spirit of the agreement.

Pozsgay on Cocom, Need for Supervision

LD1411223489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] [Presenter] Imre Pozsgay has spoken about the Cocom [Coordinating Committee for East-West Trade Policy] list to our staff member Tibor Hollauer:

[Begin recording] [Hollauer] Do you consider it conceivable that the Warsaw pact member states would not gain knowledge of the Cocom technologies functioning in Hungary?

[Pozsgay] I consider it conceivable. That is why we need a security system, and one solution to this is for the Cocom Institute itself to supervise the utilization.

[Hollauer] So, there would be an office here.

[Pozsgay] Yes. Up till now this was the obstacle. Budapest would contribute to the establishment of this kind of office here, and Cocom should have observation stations at the places of utilization.

[Hollauer] Would those who try to [word indistinct] be called to account?

[Pozsgay] Those who offend concerning Cocom utilization would be called to account also on the basis of criminal law, not only on a risk basis. [end recording]

National Council of Ministers Holds Session

To Suspend Paks Plant Agreement

LD1611214589 Budapest MTI in English 2100 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 16 (MTI)—The Hungarian Council of Ministers decided during its Thursday session to propose suspending the Hungarian-Soviet agreement about the operation and development of Paks nuclear power plant and to halt all extension work being done by the Paks nuclear power plant company.

The Ministry of Industry's long-term energy policy scheme, due to come up before Parliament in December, states that oil and gas production cannot be increased because of geological difficulties. As coal production can only be continued at great depths, the annual output is likely to decrease to 11 million tonnes. The current power plant capacity is sufficient as it is. The expected slight increase in energy use will be countered by cuts in specific consumption. The plan calls for Hungary's switching over to West European energy systems.

The session approved a bill on securities and the stock exchange, including removal of the lower value limit of shares.

The government proposed breaking the post office monopoly even before the new post office act comes into force, and making the development of the telephone and telecommunications networks accessible to private capital, including foreign entrepreneurs.

The idea of setting up a labour ministry with a small staff to cope with the growing employment problems also came up at the session.

Releases 2 Defense Officials

LD1611232389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] The Council of Ministers has decided some personnel issues. At his own request it relieved lieutenant general Zoltan Szoradi, deputy minister of defense, with recognition of his merits. Major General Lajos Krasznai, deputy minister of defense, has been relieved because of another important function. Dr Istvan Szalkai, vice president of the Hungarian National Bank, has been relieved of this office effective 10 November. Istvan Kollarik, deputy minister of finance, has been appointed deputy chairman of the National Planning Office.

Democratic Youth League Chairman Resigns

LD1411031589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] A press briefing has been held by the DEMISZ [Democratic Youth League]. Andras Erdfalvi reports:

[Erdfalvi] Imre Nagy is no longer able to undertake the office of DEMISZ chairman. The news was announced to pressmen this morning at a press conference. They were also told that the organization is to conduct a 2-week campaign for the election of president of the Republic, and that the preparation for DEMISZ's second national meeting is also in progress. Partly the number of tasks and partly the function that Imre Nagy holds in the Hungarian Socialist Party impelled DEMISZ to transform its leadership structure and to set up an eight-member executive body until the national meeting is held on 27 January. The new body has appreciated the weekend meeting of the government and the youth organizations and stressed that there is a need for more speedy and concrete steps in the issues most affecting youth, such as housing, education, and employment. DEMISZ itself wishes to set a good example: today a 10 million forint fund was created in the interests of setting up a new people's college system.

Independent Members of Parliament Meet 15 Nov

LD1611035389 Budapest MTI in English 1939 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 15 (MTI)—The group of independent parliamentary MP's [Members of Parliament] held a session on Wednesday [15 November] in Budapest.

The leaders of the Patriotic People's Front, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF] and the Alliance of Free Democrats told them about the programmes of these organizations.

Istvan Kukorelli, acting president of the Patriotic People's Front, said the aim of the organization is to fulfil a mediating role between the various parties in discussing vital national issues.

Jozsef Antall, president of the Democratic Forum, analysed the foreign policy situation and stressed that the external circumstances are extremely favourable from the point of view of a peaceful transformation in Hungary. The HDF feels it is important that Hungary should not be considered as an anti-Soviet, anti-Bolshevist bridge-head. True, its goal is to acquire neutrality, but it should be understood that this is not a matter of proclamation, but one of power compromises, Mr Antall said. This should be taken into consideration when shaping Hungarian foreign policy.

Janos Kis, on the executive of the Alliance of Free Democrats, noted they agreed with the Hungarian Democratic Forum in that an exceptional possibility exists in Hungary at present for a peaceful transition to a multiparty democracy. It is also undisputed that an unclarified power situation has come about with the shrinking of the governing party, and uncertainty dominates political public life.

HSP Presidium Recommendations on Mass Media

LD1611033189 Budapest MTI in English 2050 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 15 (MTI)—"The mass media operated under the authority of a single power centre in past decades. Its structure adapted to the demands of central-bureaucratic party state direction.

"The peaceful transition from the dictatorial system to the democratic constitutional state demands a radical transformation of the structure and operational practice of the mass communications institutions", runs the position of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] Presidium, set forth following the body's Wednesday [15 November] session in Budapest.

Ferenc Kosa, member of the HSP Presidium, said at the press conference following the session that the party Presidium has now worked out recommendations of principle in the interest of enforcing the democracy of the press. The HSP firmly sets down its view that television, radio, and other major mass communications institutions are the property of the whole nation and society, rather than of some party.

The organization and operation order of the major media and the means of their supervision should be created accordingly. The freedom of communication and the seting forth of differing ideological-political currents and views in a free manner, should be guaranteed.

The HSP Presidium is of the opinion that a comprehensive telecommunications law should be worked out as soon as possible.

Ivan Szandtner, head of the HSP Election Office, said the Hungarian Socialist Party continues to feel that the referendum was forced and is unnecessary, and is aimed at torpedoing the earlier agrcements. However, the party does acknowledge that the initiative is lawful, and it does not call on its members to boycott the referendum.

The HSP agrees with the arguments and position of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, with the rider that the firm wish of socialists is that Hungary should have a president elected by the people as soon as possible.

GDR Considering Polish Emigration Requests

LD1611210489 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] The GDR ambassador has stated that requests to resettle in the GDR and to undertake work there are now being examined by the relevant authorities of that country. That is why further applications of that kind cannot be accepted for the time being.

Applications Increase

LD1611211689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2017 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—The number of Polish citizens who are trying, at the embassy in Warsaw or in the GDR consular missions in other Polish cities, to resettle or to take up work in the GDR is continuing to increase. The head of the consular division at the GDR Embassy, Dr Peter Krause, told ADN today that in Warsaw alone since the beginning of November, about 2,600 Polish applicants have received the relevant forms. The GDR consulates general in Wroclaw, Szczecin, and Gdansk are also noting similar figures.

The consul said that every application is being examined individually and that for this purpose every application is sent on to the relevant authorities in the GDR for a decision. Therefore, until further notice, no similar applications can be accepted.

CSSR Restricts Poles Travel Opportunities

LD1611214289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] The CSSR Government has decided to close the border with Poland from 1 December this year to 30 June next year for 1- and 2-day trips organized by Polish travel agencies, and for trips organized as part of exchanges between enterprises. After cutting down the period of transit through Czechoslovakia for Polish citizens from 48 to 24 hours, and after discontinuing the cashing of transit vouchers, this is yet another restriction on the movement of people from Poland.

Siwicki Receives Yugoslav Delegation 9 Nov

LD0911204789 Warsaw PAP in English 1909 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 9—Polish minister of defence, general Florian Siwicki received here today a delegation of the political board of the Federal Secretariat of National Defence of Yugoslavia.

The delegation is headed by assistant to the Yugoslav Federal secretary of national defence for political and legal affairs, General Simeon Buncic.

Concern Over U.S. Ozone Layer Destruction

AU1711095389 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 14 Nov 89 p 3

[NOVOSTI article "specially for ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI" by Yuriy Kanin: "Will Space Rockets Destroy the Earth's 'Ozone Shield'?"]

[Text] The greatest threat to the ozone layer comes from compounds of chlorine and nitrogen, which arise from the earth's natural volcanic activity and from man's economic activity on this planet. We have heard much about freon, and the fight against this gas has now assumed international importance. This gas, however, is not used in space-rocket technology. Nevertheless, carrier rockets used to launch spacecraft into orbit discharge chemical substances that react directly with ozone. How harmful are the consequences that arise from these chemical reactions?

Soviet scientists from the Scientific-Productive Union "Energiya" [as published]—Valeriy Burdakov, doctor of technical sciences, and Vyacheslav Filin, candidate member of technical sciences and deputy to the general constructor of the universal space rocket system "Energiya"—are currently working on this problem. According to the calculation methodology they have devised and that is used to estimate the harmful side-effects and action of the chemical substances emitted by space rockets during their ascent, theoretically just 300 flights of the U.S. space shuttle over the next 4 or 5 years is all that is required to destroy the ozone layer completely and to deprive our planet of its protective shield against the sun's fatal rays. The originators of these calculations stress that they have based their calculations on the maximum hypothetic effect, and by assuming that all the discharged chemical components of space rocket fuel—emitted up to an altitude of 50 kilometers above the earth's surface—will actually react with the ozone. In these calculations, one has to take into consideration the maximum possible level of danger, owing to the fact that continued destruction of our ozone layer contains the possible scenario of the extinction of life on Earth.

One also has to bear in mind that nowadays our ozone layer is much thinner than before and has been completely destroyed at the Earth's poles. Notwithstanding this, one can postulate that a wholesale ecological catastrophe will occur long before the ozone layer is completely destroyed, and thus the 300th flight of the U.S. space shuttle may, in fact, never take place. Carrier rockets, and supersonic aircraft, which can fly at an altitude of 20 to 26 kilometers above the Earth's surface, are also contributing to bringing an "end of the world" closer. Right now, their effects cannot be compared to the earth's volcanic activity and man's economic activity, but, as the Soviet scientists say, mankind should not shut its eyes to this problem. Above all, we have to abandon the use of solid fuel in rocket motors. If we do not do this, then starting in year 2005, space rockets by themselves—will discharge 100,000 tonnes of chlorine and nitrogen compounds into the atmosphere. This will

amount to some 10 percent of the total effect on the stratosphere which is harmful to man in its consequences.

We have included all those elements of space rocket technology whose technical parameters are known to us and according to their destructive effect on the ozone layer—states Doctor Burdakov. Heading the list are the U.S. rockets "Scout" and "Delta," "Titan- 11" and the French "Ariane-V" rocket. It is true that the first two belong to the small rocket category, and "Ariane-V" is only in its final stages of completion. When we talk about space shuttles of the U.S. "shuttle" type, then NASA—it is now known—originally planned some 60 flights a year. Given this frequency, there is a risk that mankind will soon lose the protective shield of the ozone against the sun's ultra-violet rays. We estimate that even the 25 flights of the "Shuttle" that took place in the years 1980-1986, have had a definite effect on the ozone. Each time, its space rocket motors discharge about 188 tonnes of chlorine and hydrogen chloride, and some 7 tonnes of nitric oxide. Assuming that all the discharges from the "shuttle" will react with the ozone, we calculate that during just one "shuttle" ascent 10 million tonnes of ozone are destroyed. One has to bear in mind that in the northern hemisphere, at the height of the ozone layer, there are strong currents which can reach speeds of 100 miles per second at an altitude of 50 kilometers. The discharged exhausts from space rocket motors are thus rapidly spread throughout the Earth's ozone layer.

The Soviet space rocket system "Energiya" utilized in many of the modern space rockets is ecologically the cleanest. Its rocket motor exhausts do not contain any chlorine, or nitrogen. The first rocket stage motors use oxygen and hydrocarbons, and the second stage uses oxygen and hydrogen, as fuel. Additionally, during a space shot flight, especially during the passage through the ozone layer, the rocket thrust is deliberately reduced. Using the same method of calculating the maximum possible discharge that will react in the ozone layer, it appears that the Soviet system will not destroy more than some 1,500 tonnes of ozone. This means that—from the point of view of harmful effects on the ozone shield—it would take 7,000 space shots using the "Energiya" system to produce the effects of just one "shuttle" flight.

The use of solid fuel for military purposes should be banned. Additionally, from the point of view of conserving the ozone layer, fewer flights of extra-heavy rockets carrying spacecraft into orbit would be desirable. International cooperation on our outer-space and international control of the means that are used to get there, is fast becoming an urgent priority, also from the point of view of preserving the "ozone shield" of our planet.

Reportage on FRG Chancellor's Visit Continues

FRG Spokesman News Conference

AU1611151789 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Nov 89 p 2

[PAP report on news conference with Hans Klein, the FRG government press spokesman, in Warsaw on 13 November: "There Will Be No Dilemmas"]

[Text] Helmuth Becker, (Social Democratic Party of Germany) and Werner Hoyer (Free Democratic Party of Germany), two Bundestag deputies, also took part in the successive news conference given by Hans Klein, the FRG Government spokesperson. Earlier, they had participated in Chancellor Kohl's meeting with Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, the Sejm marshal, Andrzej Stelmachowski, marshal of the Senate, and a group of Sejm deputies and senators.

The subjects discussed, among others, were the development of parliamentary contacts between the two countries—especially between particular Sejm and Bundestag commissions and other organizations—as well as between groups of deputies. Such a group is in the process of being formed in the Sejm. The Polish side would like to benefit from the experiences of the West German parliament.

Other matters were also discussed. The German guests were continuously aware of the Polish side's apprehension whether the developments in the GDR would now begin to reduce the FRG's interest in Poland. Chancellor Kohl again strongly confirmed—stated Hans Klein—that this was not possible because of the fact that, without the important steps taken by the Poles and the Hungarians, all that which is happening in the GDR would simply not have happened. It was also confirmed at this news conference that there were no foundations for the voiced anxiety that West German industry will now be faced by the following alternative—either to invest in Poland, or in the GDR. The FRG's investment potential is so great—it invests in some 100 countries worldwide—that there can be no talk of such dilemma. Additionally, the German side realizes that an unfavorable development of the situation in Poland would in turn impact negatively on the GDR.

The participants in the news conference noted that the matter of economic cooperation was the central theme of the visit. The Polish side has always stressed—recalled Helmuth Becker—that without aid from the West, and without a substantial input by the FRG, it will be impossible to overcome the present difficulties. It was quite obvious that Poland was putting great emphasis on cooperating with the FRG on many planes. Chancellor Kohl, for his part, has constantly stressed that the matter of providing assistance to Poland should be so regulated that the process of reforms and democratization is favorably enhanced. In this context—it was recalled—Chancellor Kohl had promised his Polish interlocutors

that if the guarantees given by Hermes [Export Investment Guarantee Organization of the FRG] to the value of some DM2.5 billion should prove insufficient, then Chancellor Kohl is ready to hold immediate talks on the subject of increasing them.

The matter of borders figured large in the talks. One of the Sejm deputies from Gdansk, welcoming the process of understanding and reconciliation between Germans and Poles, asked whether the developments in the GDR have not brought forward the process of German unification, and in relation to this, whether the Poles should not be rightly concerned. The deputies recalled that Chancellor Kohl in answer to this question given in the Polish parliament, explained the position of the FRG. During the news conference it was emphasized that both sides, the Polish, and the West German, had the impression that the 21st Century would be a century of Europe, and not just of nation states, and this fact put the subject of borders in a completely different light. It was stressed that a national German state would not be problem for the immediate future, or for that matter, several decades.

The journalists were informed that the Marshal of the Senate, Andrzej Stelmachowski, had raised the subject of Polish citizens who were of German descent. He noted that this problem is evident especially in Slask, and it could not be extended by analogy to the whole of Poland. In relation to this group of people, the Polish side will perform all that had been agreed during the Chancellor's visit. Helmuth Becker remarked at the news conference that national minorities are found in all countries throughout the European continent. Their members should, above all, feel themselves to be Europeans in their own Europe, and not bring to the fore the matter of a national state.

The matter of compensation for the victims of the Third Reich was also raised during the conference. Helmuth Becker reported that Bonn was thinking about solving this problem, and most probably this would be done in the form of establishing some foundation.

Kohl, Mazowiecki News Conference

LD1411152589 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1327 GMT 14 Nov 89

[News conference with FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki in Warsaw—live; Kohl speaking in German with superimposed Polish translation]

[Text] [Kohl] Prime Minister! Ladies and Gentlemen! I would like to begin by making a sort of technical remark—and that is that I would like you to understand that I will not—at the present moment—be making a statement because of the little time we have at our disposal, and therefore, for this reason, I will give you my statement in writing since we have a problem due to the fog and we have to fly off by the end of the day. Because of this we must implement our program with precision and I think you will wish, ladies and gentlemen, above all to put questions to us and that is why my personal statement regarding my visit—a written statement—will be provided here.

However, there are a few short remarks from me: this is, for us, a very, very important visit—and also for me personally this was a very important visit. We had very intensive talks and we also had the chance, in our personal talks, to establish a very good contact between us, a personal contact. It is my wish that this should be a contact which we shall be able to deepen in the future, so that it will be possible to establish really friendly relations between us.

During the many hours of our talks we were able to discuss the whole sphere of relations between our two countries. We also talked about our common history and also the events which weigh upon us, which are so terrible—but at the same time we talked about our obligations and responsibilities and tasks for the future.

I wish to thank you most sincerely, prime minister, for the fact that we were able to travel together to Krzyzowa, that we were able to greet each other there under a sign of reconciliation and peace, that from Krzyzowa we were able to travel together to Czestochowa—that is to the very heart of Poland. And that, with that experience which moved the heart, meant that it was complementary to our substantive talks. I am very happy, that we were just able, a moment ago, to sign our joint declaration. This is our timetable, so to speak, for the future. Both of us will remain in contact with each other. At regular intervals we will talk by telephone and I hope during your visit next year to us in the FRG—and I invite you once again here very warmly—in that forum of public opinion of the whole world, we will have the opportunity to continue our talks.

[Mazowiecki] I don't want to lengthen things. I'd like to leave time for questions. There isn't much time for your questions, so I'll just say on my part that I think this was a visit of great mutual understanding and many specific issues were able to be settled. This will be reflected in the joint declaration.

There are other issues about which we will continue to talk and think. I am very grateful to you, chancellor, for the goodwill you declared when coming to Poland. That goodwill found full reflection in the course of our talks and I am convinced that it will find reflection in the implementation of what we have jointly decided as well as in the implementation of what still awaits consideration. I think this is an important step in the relations between our states and peoples.

[Niezabitowska, official government spokesperson] Now, questions please. Yes, GAZETA WYBORCZA.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr Premier, how do you assess the wording on the issue of borders contained in the joint declaration and what relation do they bear to your earlier expectations?

[Mazowiecki] In the joint declaration, it says that both sides base themselves on the 1970 treaty. And in another point, it says that both sides take the view that recognition of the presently existing borders is a condition of the peaceful development and of the peaceful situation in Europe. I think these two formulations should be read together. I think that is how they will be read, because, after all, there is no border issue as such. The only problem that exists is of some possible interpretation and I think that it is improtant that, in our talks, we told each other everything about the matters on which there is sensitivity in Poland. I think that reading this issue this way in both these items, while reading this statement is very important.

[Baranowski] Baranowski of the DZIENNIK LUDOWY. [Peasants' Daily] Mr Federal Chancellor: yesterday you declared yourself as being in favor of abolition of visas in Poland-FRG relations. I am interested in a smaller step, namely, is there going to be a lifting of restrictions in visa traffic between Poland and the Federal Republic? Thank you.

[Kohl] You know we have a problem as regards numbers, that is those who are coming to us those who are refugees. That is why we have made this temporary solution, the solution which is similar to the one in Poland, as regards the compulsory exchange of currency. I have agreed with the Polish premier that after my return I shall instruct the Federal minister of internal affairs to discuss this issue in direct contacts with his Polish counterpart. This issue is a bit too complex for us to be able to say yes or no, but we have decided here to undertake joint actions and walk a common path to resolve all questions, including this one.

[Andrea Terquini] Andrea Terquini from LA REPUBBLICA, Italy. [in English] Question for the Polish prime minister. Mr Prime Minister, you are going to Moscow in a few days...

[Unidentified voice, interrupting] Just a minute.

[Terquini] O.K.?

[Niezabitowska] Please.

[Terquini] Mr Prime Minister, you are soon going to Moscow. Are you going to discuss the German issue and the future of the two Germanies in Europe in your talks with the Soviet leaders? Thank you.

[Mazowiecki] Yes, well. I am going to Moscow in 9 days. Of course, if these matters are of interest to my Soviet partners, then of course these matters can become the subject of these talks. I think that the importance of the visit of the Chancellor to Poland is such that no doubt there will be talk about the results of this visit.

[Adam Pieczynski] Adam Pieczynski, EL PAIS. A question to Chancellor Helmut Kohl. In connection with the events in the GDR and following your visit to Poland, is the stance of your government still current, the stance that the final recognition of the border of Western Poland can only take place within the framework of the peace treaty between Poland and Germany and not the FRG. In connection with this, can one also expect some preliminary negotiations before possible signing of such a treaty?

[Kohl] During my stay in this country I spoke on this subject several times. As far as I am concerned it is clear—and from my talks with President Jaruzelski and the prime minister, and from many talks here in Warsaw it is clear—that this is a matter of particular sensitivity for Poles. I am the FRG chancellor and our Constitution obliges me to accept and observe international and other obligations, as well as the point which has been included in our Constitution. I can speak on behalf of the FRG but I cannot speak on behalf of the whole of Germany. I don't have to here...but I would like to add: In my statements here I have more than once said that we, all of us in the FRG, know that for the last 40 years on the lands of which we speak there live people—a third generation which has found its homeland there and this has its own meaning. But when we speak about the treaty from Warsaw—and this is what you have done, sir—then I would ask you to remember that the fourth point of this Warsaw Treaty is very important and it is linked here with the German question. Your question has great significance not only as far as the matter of borders with Poland is concerned but also regarding the present situation in Germany.

[Niezabitowska] The Polish Press Agency—please go ahead. Please wait a moment.

[Unidentified PAP correspondent] [word indistinct] A question: Do you think that what you have discussed in Poland and what you have said in Oswiecim [Auschwitz], for example, or in Krzyzowa, will be accepted with full understanding by your compatriots. How is it? Will it not perhaps have an adverse effect on the popularity of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] in the next elections to the Bundestag?

[Kohl] I don't know quite how you see Germany, but if I interpret your question correctly then you have the wrong picture—and what I say here does not have any hidden political or party meaning. In the whole of the republic, if I view the Federal Republic, Germany, then two-thirds of these people were born and grew up after Hitler, after Stalin—well conciliation, reconciliation is very popular in our country and one could assess it in the following way: That if you should ask somewhere about the popularity of the Franco-German agreement, if you should ask young people—now, coming back from Auschwitz, the meeting in that place is significant for everybody, but especially for all Germans. [sentence as heard] The whole weight of history shows there...[Kohl changes thought] When one speaks in our country of Auschwitz, of Birkenhausen, there are only very few exceptions, a very small percentage of the so-called 'ever belonging to yesterday' people who have not learned anything and do not wish to learn anything new in their lives. That is why I believe, and I felt this very strongly

also during the weeks devoted to the preparations for this visit, that this common approach, this rapprochement between Poland and Germany is seen this way. Last Sunday I was not at home but I heard about many reactions to the pictures, the photographs from Krzyzowa, which made a very big impression in Germany.

You see, this is for us an hour of fate in world politics, in German politics. When do you want to have them? The time has matured for them. If on the other hand it is a case of party politics, then I can reassure you, the CDU-CSU will win the forthcoming elections; we will then be able to talk again.

[Maciej Stasinski] Maciej Stasinski, L'AVANGUARDIA, Spain. I have a question for both of you, the premier and to the chancellor. The statement speaks of the accord of 1970 as the basis for the future, full normalization. I would like to ask how do the two of you regard this full normalization, when will it come about?

[Mazowiecki] I don't know if you have the text of the statement. There is no talk there of a future full normalization. Here there is talk of the basis of our mutual relations. I simply feel, as I said, that this is a fundamental accord for our mutual relations, and as an accord absolutely in force, now and in the future.

[Kohl] I would just like to add here, that I consciously used the words "the decomposition of Yalta." This is simply the specification of a direction, a specification of the future, for the future. And I must say clearly, I am one of those politicians who has always pressed for review. I would very much wish, Mr Premier, that we take this document into our hands every year and check how far we have got in practice. I am ready. In this way we also achieved great progress with France in the last decades, and every year we have such consultations with France, alternately in Paris and in the FRG, and this is nothing other than a part of the review of our relations. And if we implement that which we have planned here—and I judge that we both intend to do this quickly—then I am an optimist.

[Unidentified voice]....possibly, yes I'm sorry. Mr Premier, you have said that in Moscow you might address the question of German reunification. Could you tell us your personal position on this matter?

[Kohl] I'm not being asked this question.

[Unidentified voice] You must translate the question into Polish consecutively.

[Interpreter] Yes, ok.

[Mazowiecki] I think that I can put it this way, that we understand—as is understood in all international documents relating to human rights—the right of all nations to specify their own fate themselves. We simultaneously understand that this problem is not on the agenda today, that it is a problem of our neighbors in Europe, our German neighbors, a European problem, a probem of the four great powers, all that which we said in official statements. I judge that today, when such important transformations are taking place in the GDR, these transformations must be viewed calmly and without any desire to excite these transformations. Because to a very fundamental degree, stabilization in Europe depends on this region, on the situation in this region.

[Niezabitowska] Now perhaps we'll ask Polish television [word indistinct].

[Wasilewski] Pawel Wasilewski, Polish television. I have a question for you, sir, federal chancellor. You have carried out reconciliation with France, with President Mitterrand, on the Verdun fields. Do you not think that such a reconciliation between the FRG and Poland should take place at Westerplatte?

[Kohl] I believe now also in Krzyzowa we have made a good start, and the meeting between Francois Mitterrand and me was, as I would say—the summit—it was an important milestone. I hope that such photographs as the photograph from Verdun and comparable photographs between will not be awaited for as long a time as between the treaty signed by De Gaulle and Adenauer and the meeting between Mitterrand and myself. But you see, we need both of them. We need facts. My journey here is seeking to create facts, so that the nations can look at each other, so that people can come closer together, so that we can achieve certain mutual possibilities in economic and cultural life, and particularly—which is important for me—a youth exchange. And, of course, gestures are important. I think, that we have made a beginning here, and I emphasize most explicitly here that there are going to be such meetings.

[Niezabitowska] Immediately or later?

[(Fenk) - in English] (Jan Fenk), the private agency Nationwide in Poland. A question to the federal chancellor: [continues in Polish] In Poland between 1944 and 1956 the communist authorities murdered thousands of people regarded as political opponents. We don't know where they are buried, all traces have been removed, documents destroyed. Some of these people were buried by German POWs. We would now like to request that these people help identify the secret cemeteries. Can we count on your willing help in contacting these people?

[Kohl] I am in favor of helping where it is a question of lost people. In this specific case I cannot reply about who can do what. I can only say generally that wherever it will be possible, we will want to help.

[Niezabitowska] Mr Margueritte, please.

[Margueritte in German] Bernard Margueritte, French television correspondent in Warsaw. Mr Federal Chancellor, after the happy collapse of the wall, what is the most important thing for you today, the reunification of the Germanys or the unification of the European Community on 1 January 1993, as planned.

[Kohl] The most important thing for me will always be the right of nations to self-determination, that of all

European nations, and of my own nation. And these are interconnected. It is not a question of one or another here, but of one and the other. Reconciliation and understanding between Europeans. And that is done by our fundamental law. They have drawn up the most sensible constitution in our history. If you were to read the preamble to that constitution, that very text is directed at the far future, the future of the 21st century, where, I am convinced of this, the unification of Europe will be achieved, and that will be the most important fact of this history.

To give a very specific answer to your question, I'd say that the German problems can only be solved under a European roof. That's our interpretation of the situation, which we have had since the Adenauer era—nothing has changed here. And hardly any one can say, as we do, that we back and pronounce ourselves in favor of the implementation of that great European market—on 31 December 1992—and that date will be implemented. Here there is no contradiction between the unification of Germany and the unification of Europe. I must repeat once again that the events in the GDR have been supported by events abroad and I'd like to mention two things: Without the reforms in Poland and without the reforms in Hungary, today's events and today's development in the GDR would have been unthinkable. That is a very important principle and for that reason, we, and above all, me personally, will never conduct a policy which would call into question the significance of Poland, on account of the events in the GDR. Please understand this as a symbol.

On Friday, I left this country for a short time, because I had to go to Berlin, but I returned after 24 hours, to carry out my visit as planned. The priority of reforms in these two countries exists, naturally, and this is an imperative and it was also of help to our fellow-countrymen in the GDR.

The second condition is the process of unification of Europe, I think that much of what has been happening here in Warsaw, but also in Hungary and also in the Soviet Union in recent years—sometimes more, sometimes less dynamically—all that was only possible because of the fact that there also existed a process of unification of Europe. I am keen to stress this here in Warsaw: When we meet on Saturday at the Elysee Palace in Paris, i.e. the 12 heads of government and state, I will stress there once again that we, the 12 heads, are not yet the representatives of Europe. This is the beginning of Europe. Warsaw, Krakow, Budapest, Vienna, Leipzig, and Dresden also belong to Europe, naturally. All these belong to that Europe, but the most important thing from the German viewpoint is that there cannot be any priority here by saying that we will do only one thing and reject the other. We have to do both. When we talk of the right to self-determination, we are also thinking of that. We cannot give any advice to the GDR here, but I know what they think, my fellow-countrymen in the GDR. But I don't have to speak at greater length on that subject here.

[(Byczkowska)] (Barbara Byczkowska), ILLUSTROWANY KURIER POLSKI. Two questions: First, at the moment, various FRG agencies are being created in Poland. They will be cultural, social and political, along the lines of the Naumann foundation and other political parties. Will they operate on the principle of competition in this country or of cooperation? The second question: Did your visit to Auschwitz, Chancellor, have a certain influence on changing your attitude to our history or not? Thank you very much.

[Kohl] As regards the first question, they will both compete and cooperate, where it is sensible. I think it's also in Polish interests for there to be a certain amount of competition. If there is [words indistinct] from the Ebert Foundation, it is sensible for the Adenauer Foundation to operate too. If necessary they will work together. After all, they are ready. Erhard said once: It is necessary to open the doors and windows to let in fresh air so that people do not fall asleep. And here this can be quoted as a rule. They must act for the sake of market rights.

As far as the second question is concerned, of course my basic position was not changed by my visit to Auschwitz, it was enhanced. When the war began I was 9 and I was 15 when it ended. If this is how you wish to see it, I lived through at least part of the war being fully conscious in a family with a strong Christian faith and strongly opposed to the rule of the national socialists. As a 15-year-old, I experienced the war as a very drastic affair, in a very personal way, and that lesson for me personally was very profound at the time and had a great effect on me. And that was why I entered politics very early on, in order to influence others, and very early on I dealt with these issues and from that point of view, of course these facts are known to me. But you know, ladies and gentlemen, there is a great difference between reading about something and feeling something almost physically in such a place as Auschwitz. The whole cruelty, the whole monstrosity gets to you when you stand there on that ramp and you realize or virtually see right in front of you the images of arriving people, women, men, children and old people, and a single wave of someone's hand deciding with cynicism which defies imagination about their life or death. The great shame which came down on the Germans is of course clear to everyone, but only there, on the spot, you feel it with full intensity. I belong to the generation of the young people who after 1945 while still at school were getting involved in politics. There were all these democratic parties and many of them today bore the responsibility. At the time they were not fully understood, we were showing a lack of understanding vis-a-vis the older generation, asking why they didn't defend themselves, what were they doing in 1933? And then we swore to ourselves, and not just us but the vast majority of people, that such a thing must never happen again. And now, when we stand in Auschwitz this conviction becomes even stronger.

[Unidentified woman] Yes, German television.

[Unidentified male correspondent] Yes, I have a question for the Federal Chancellor. Mr Kohl, what is your answer to the Polish desire for compensation for the Polish victims of Nazism?

[Kohl] (?This is not an easy) question, because on the one hand we see human tragedy and on the other the FRG has already provided certain benefits and we have already clearly spoken about this. President Jaruzelski, the premier, and I have spoken about this and all we discussed is going to provide material for me to reflect on. But I would like to say this and I am saying it openly because of the wide range of problems involved here the existing problems have to be changed, they have to change their position, and all this has very serious consequences because this is not merely a Polish-German problem, it concerns many countries.

And as you know, and I have to say it again, that in this sense the FRG has taken upon itself a great burden. All in all, as far as compensations are concerned, by the beginning of the 1990 we will have paid 100 billion West German marks. But in spite of that, I will say this again, the fate of people directly involved has made it so that we will have to again consider what other possibilities there are. But I would like to add that I regard some of the statements I heard here, the enormous amounts, in this form, in this absolute form as being impossible to realize.

[Bobinski] Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES. I would like to ask whether the events in East Germany and other countries of Eastern Europe which open the way to new economic opportunity for the FRG, will change the FRG's position toward the European Monetary System and monetary integration.

[Kohl] We are in Warsaw and not in London--as far as the question is concerned. As far as my opinion regarding these matters is concerned, well I don't have to change it and I will not be changing it. The developments in the situation in Poland, Hungary and, I hope, also in the GDR and I also hope, in the future, in Czechoslovakia, will change the trade and political course of the European Community in this [word indistinct] and there is no doubt that it will have an influence on this course. If I am correct then in a very short while there will be here... and in a few day's time when I will be speaking in Paris about my talks here I will come across (?this) and... We in the FRG want to develop relations as broadly as possible, economic and political relations with Poland. If I see this correctly, if the joint declaration is anything to go by—Poland also has this intention. We have undertaken a whole series of agreements, treaties which were signed on Friday. The Polish legislation will have to change some things here and there in order to compile everything as far as the agreements are concerned, whereas I will try to ensure that as many German businessmen as possible establish joint ventures here. As you know, ladies and gentlemen, money and capital have the characteristic that they allow two elements to influence them: One matter is the possibility of doing business and here they must [word indistinct] financial matters, the point is not to go bankrupt, but of course they must act effectively here together with Poles, with the Polish partners, in order to achieve profits, and secondly, capital, in particular, needs confidence in order to work and I believe, and I wish to state this quite clearly, that the Polish Government, that the prime minister and his colleagues deserve such confidence and therefore also support. These two elements together will make it so that we will see, and I hope very quickly, a significant amount of economic cooperation. It is not by chance that during these talks we decided to grant a Hermes guarantee of an amount which we have not granted so far to any other country. This is an important help, and a significant support also for German industrialists here.

[Kurkiewicz in German] Grzegorz Kurkiewicz, the GDANSK SOLIDARITY WEEKLY. One more question for the Chancellor. [Kurkiewicz in Polish] It is regarding such positive and important matters for future generations, matters which are to be found in the declaration signed today, such as help in cleaning the natural environment, especially—as is written in the declaration—in the regions of great industrial concentration.

Furthermore, assistance in the construction of youth shelters, without which the youth exchange would not be possible, and finally, didactic help in training personnel who could teach German. Is this to be applied to the whole territory of Poland, or are there any areas of special interest, for instance, connected with the existence of the German minority in Poland? Or is this assistance for all of Poland?

[Kohl] The assistance is in no way to be limited territorially. The Polish-German youth exchange can only be successful if all the young Poles, irrespective of where they live in Poland, according to their wish can take part in it. Those who, for instance, at home are more advanced linguistically, speak German, are of course in a better situation here. But we do not intend to regionalize this exchange and I hope that very soon we will reach some institutional forms of this exchange which will speed it up. Irrespective of how important economic issues are, I think that in the long term the youth exchange and the document which we have signed here are the most important matters because this is a kind of planting of young trees for the future. Before my arrival I spoke to a very old organization in Germany, the organization of youth shelters which for a long time has been dealing with youth walking trips and other matters and I think that it would be very good if such a private organization could find partner organizations here. Together they could create the possibilities of cooperation in the construction of shelters.

[(Wyzkowski)] Michael Wyzykowski of DZIENNIK ZACHODNI. Chancellor, I would like to return to the

mass in Krzyzowa. I think that you yourself were surprised by the warmth of the reception there. Perhaps some Silesians saw this as a reception which was excessively warm. But I would like to return to the following issue. Banners appeared there saying: Helmut are you also our chancellor? I would like to ask if you also feel like the chancellor of this German minority in Poland.

[Kohl] First, there is a difference between a state and myself, because in my office I am often criticized and so if I get praised once I feel very glad. If someone welcomes me warmly I always feel the need for [words indistinct]. I have nothing against it. I do not think that it was excessive. If you can now see the spiritual situation of these people and feel for them, they too had some sort of a history for decades. Is it really so unusual that when a German Federal Chancellor comes, one who is not hostile toward Poland but who has a proven positive attitude toward Poland. the leader of the Polish Government also here and was warmly welcomed. [as heard]

The fact that they called Helmut, lots of people in the FRG shout, and not everyone shouts Helmut, no; some shout Helmut, yes. Thus I don't think that it should be so significant. If, therefore, someone thinks the banner: Helmut you are also our chancellor, does not mean, that is a state matter. I think, quite simply, it results from spiritual needs. It has nothing in common with a state question, and this could also happen in other countries. I don't think, for example, that in France someone would draw conclusions of a state nature, that the socialists [word indistinct] put out the only electoral poster, and it was a portrait of myself and Francois Mitterand: France will be greater thanks to Europe. And the French didn't notice if something was quite right there. They voted well for socialists, because the Christian Democrat was on a poster. The German Social Democrats are not so advanced yet as to put me on a poster, but that time might come. [laughter]

[Sadowski] [name indistinct] Sadowski, Radio Free Europe. I have a question for the chancellor. As far as I know, a meeting has not been held with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, and there won't be one. Is this due to reasons of time or were there other reasons?

[Kohl] It wasn't my fault. I anticipated a certain time and I didn't have any problems in meeting Mr Rakowski. Nonetheless, I must add that my time was shortened by a day.

[(Bolicki)] Herr (Bolicki), from [word indistinct] (WOCHENSCHRIFT) A question to the chancellor. In mentioning a moment ago several cities which, belong to Europe: Warsaw, Krakow, Vienna, you didn't mention Moscow. The question is: Does Moscow belong to Europe and how does the political thought of Germany, of the German Federal Republic, if it is a question of the future arrangement of relations between the Soviet Union and Europe, look at present? And in connection with this the second question: Are you satisfied by the reaction of Mr Gorbachev to the events in the GDR and, possibly, what further Soviet steps do you anticipate in this matter? Thank you.

[Kohl] Above all if we are talking about the first matter, I have to mention many cities. You know, I learned them in geography and I like Gorbachev's words—the European home—very much, on the condition that we are in agreement on the definition. For me it is a large, stable, well-constructed home, where there are many doors and windows. They are all open, and in any case there isn't going to be a commissioner downstairs who is going to write down who can enter and who can leave. That is my definition of the European home. If we can agree on that definition, then I am fully open, and that which Mr Gorbachev and. I—in June during his visit to Bonn, signed in a joint declaration- - if it is a question of self-determination, etc., replies unequivocably to your question. I wanted to point out the fact that in the European Community, under the German governments, when I was president, precisely that idea of cooperation between the CEMA and the EEC came in. The Soviet Union is an important part of the CEMA. I would like here [word indistinct] that Soviet-German relations begin with Russo-German relations. In October last year when I was in Moscow, when Mikhail Gorbachev was in the FRG, I pointed out many a time the (friendship) of both those nations. Their histories to a great extent have been mutually (?interrelated).

[Kohl continues] The exchange is enormous, (if one) looks closely—in music, in order to understand Shostakovich, one has to look at Beethoven. If we take philosophy, or mathematics; if we take painting, if we go through the Hermitage in Leningrad and look at the corresponding schools at particular times in France and in Germany, then you will have an example of this before your eyes, ladies and gentlemen. The history between Russia and Germany wasn't always a history of wars and hostility—definitely not; and the history of the Soviet Union and the German Reich also had other chapters. And clever people are now saying that the postwar time is now ending. On the disarmament issue, we are facing the fact that a world war (cannot be) waged. For our region, war means apocalypse, destruction and thus the first disarmament treaty came about. And if [words indistinct], there will emerge a good chance that, in a few days' time, when Bush and Gorbachev meet in the Mediterranean, they will be able to talk about chemical weapons, about their further liquidation and next year, it will be possible to sign [hesitates], condemn their development. And the dimension in which the Soviet Union opens (today) indicates that Ludwig Erhard and Karl Marxstadt, Karl Marx would have considerably greater success, because it isn't a question of the success of an ideology, but of people's happiness and, in a nutshell, I don't think that one can look at the world without vision.

[Bogdanski] Robert Bogdanski, Polish Section, BBC. I'd like to ask the Federal Chancellor about the issue of German unification. At the moment, in connection with the events in the GDR, it is already being talked about,

fairly openly, in the distant future of course. Nonetheless, one can talk of certain expectations. From what you have said, Chancellor, this won't be—in that distant future—the unification of Germany as a nation-state, but rather, it will be linked with the unification of Europe, with the lifting of borders in the EEC in 1992. The question is as follows: Is it planned, and, if so, on what conditions? Or is it being considered, to include the GDR in the EEC in 1992 and is a kind of selective inclusion of the GDR planned, or maybe with other states which currently belong to the Warsaw Pact?

[Kohl] At the beginning, when the question was posed about the reunification of Germany, we, for important reasons, talked about self-determination in the case of Germany and namely, that the people who live in the GDR will determine their road themselves and the same goes for the people in the FRG.

When this situation will come about I don't know, nobody knows. Events are dramatic but also the world in which we live is very difficult, and the Germans who live in the GDR as much as those in the FRG are not alone, they do not live alone in the world.

Earlier I heard the prime minister and the same was to be heard in his answers—and this is not just a question of the East to which one can say yes or no—as far as entry into the FRG is concerned. This is also a question which applies to Paris, The Hague or London. On the other hand we Germans must move with a great deal of sensitivity regarding the whole situation in Europe, and this must typify our way. The fact that we are going to implement our own law here goes without saying and this is in no way inconsistent with what I have said. The GDR is already taking part in positive activity thanks to the European Community and (?during) many of my visits in various CEMA countries—this is something we talked about in Bonn that we know that one has to take into account the fact that, as far as my [word indistinct] and as that of my government is concerned the GDR has the great advantage that it has, so to speak, through the back door come into the advantages that are provided by the European Community. But to be precise, I believe that, bearing in mind the complicated situation, it does not seem to me that it might be possible, before 1992, that the GDR or any other country would be able to join the European Community. It is not just a question of the GDR.

But if you could glance, ladies and gentlemen, at the stack of homework we have been given to take back and the deadline—31 December—then you yourselves will understand, sir, that it is impossible. But how all this will develop is of course, a very important question. How will this European Community look in the end? Within it there are countries who are characterized by freedom, from every point of view. They have libertarian constitutions and also their state life answers such principles.

[(Zwieg)] (Zweig) (?NEUE ZURICHER ZEITUNG) I have a short and specific question for you, Federal Chancellor.

[Interpreter] Was the joint statement of Thursday, when you arrived in Warsaw, prepared beforehand and ready? And if it wasn't, then which points had to be added or deleted?

[Kohl] The joint declaration had been prepared, otherwise there would not have been enough time. Really many weeks were needed for the preparation but, of course, and this is perfectly understandable, we, state leaders, talked again about the joint statement and in two or three points there were changes introduced. But these were not changes which concerned the concept in any way, but [words indistinct].

[Niezabitowska] Thank you ladies and gentlemen. Goodbye.

Polish-FRG Joint Statement

LD1411184989 Warsaw PAP in English
1603 GMT 14 Nov 89

["Joint Statement (Summary)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 14—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl signed here today a joint statement that consists of 78 paragraphs divided into 9 chapters.

In chapter i, Poland and the FRG point to their special responsibility for the policy of peace, understanding and cooperation in the interest of the people and nations in Europe, and express their will to firmly shape their relations on the lasting foundation of the December 7, 1970 treaty.

Chapter ii contains a list of accords and agreements signed or agreed on during Kohl's visit to Poland. Stressing the will to continue dialogue and cooperation, both sides acknowledge with satisfaction that President Wojciech Jaruzelski will invite Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker to pay a state visit to Poland.

It is also stated that Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl invites Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki to pay a return visit to the FRG next year.

The two sides welcome with satisfaction an agreement on regular consultations between their foreign ministers and the intensification of parliamentary contacts. They support broad contacts between people of the two states, including those between youths, and the the expansion of cooperation between the churches, parties, trade unions, foundations and other organizations and social associations, as well as partner-like cooperation between towns.

Both sides will verify their regulations as regards business and tourist traffic with a view to facilitating the exchange, visits and meetings.

In chapter iii, Poland and the FRG stress the particular importance of economic and financial cooperation as a factor strengthening and boosting the whole of their relations. That is why they will continue their efforts

towards creating favourable conditions for the further expansion of this cooperation.

The two sides agree that of fundamental significance is the signing of an agreement with the International Monetary Fund on granting credits, based on an effective Polish adjustment programme. The Federal Government supports with all might Poland's early constructive agreement with the IMF.

It is also important that Poland be shortly given world bank's credits, which the Federal Government comes out in favour of with all might. The Federal Government will also ask the Paris Club to reschedule the Polish payment commitments as part of long-term regulations on terms meeting Poland's payment abilities to the greatest possible extent.

Poland and the FRG welcome with satisfaction the signing of an agreement between Poland and the EC on trade and cooperation in trade and economy. The two sides will make special efforts to make the most of possibilities brought about by this agreement. Among other things efforts will be made to make a better access for Polish goods to the EC markets.

The Federal Government is also ready on its part to support the process of economic reforms in Poland as part of international cooperation and to back bilateral economic cooperation.

As regards the 1975 financial credit, the Federal Government ensures in a separate agreement the annulment of the outstanding payments. The remaining liabilities will be paid in Polish Zlotys, according to the dates of payment and will be transferred to the fund for financing projects in Poland which are subjects of mutual interest.

Both sides express satisfaction at the signing on October 9, 1989, of the agreement on re-scheduling Polish payment obligations to the Federal Republic of Germany falling due in the years 1986- 1988 in the amount of 2.5 billion German Marks, the agreement aiming at easing Poland's balance-of-payments.

Expecting a quick, further regulation of the debt to the Paris Club, the Federal Government immediately reopens the Hermes guarantees on jointly selected and examined projects and export ventures with Poland.

The Federal Government is prepared to wind up negotiations shortly on employment of Polish contract workers which aim at an essential simplification of procedure and at giving up the practice of determining the maximum contingent of employees in favour of an annual average.

Both sides find the activity of the government mixed commission for development of economic, industrial and technological cooperation as one of big importance. This commission appointed a group of experts for investment and consulting. The commission will be empowered to pursue more intensive work regarding the following forms of cooperation: establishment in Poland of banks and joint institutions to support investment, utilization of free zones, cooperation in third markets.

The fourth chapter starts with a statement that Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany give priority to the preservation of the natural environment.

Both sides are determined to vigorously combat new civilizational threats such as international terrorism and drug trafficking, as well as new plagues, like AIDS, and to cooperate in the field of genetic engineering.

Both sides will increase the number of transport and telecommunication connections, in particular they will considerably increase the number of telephone and telex lines. They also come out for more efficient and quicker border and customs checks.

In the fifth chapter the sides stress the awareness of the significance of cultural exchange for mutual understanding and rapprochement of nations.

Both sides will make it possible for individuals and groups of Polish or German origin or for individuals adhering to the language, culture or traditions of the other side to keep and develop their cultural identity.

They implement the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights of December 10, 1948, the International Covenant of Political and Civil Rights of December 16, 1966, and also the CSCE Final Act from Helsinki of August 1, 1975, and the Final Documents from Madrid of September 6, 1983, and from Vienna, of January 15, 1989.

The exercising of these rights must conform to international law and to the law of a given state and should serve consolidation of peaceful co-existence and good neighbourhood between the nations as well as contribute to their agreement and reconciliation.

Both sides confirm their readiness to enable all persons concerned to get a wider access to the language and culture of the other side.

Both sides have decided that publications and also supplements to dailies and weeklies in the language of the other side can be issued, distributed and read without limitations.

Publications of the other side can be imported and marketed without any limitations.

Both sides confirm that in principle one is allowed—in tune with the legislation of each side—to set up associations with a view to cultivating the language, culture and traditions of the other country which fall only under regulations binding for the associations of natural persons. These associations have equal rights as regards their access to mass media in their regions and may maintain contacts with the other country.

The Polish side gives consent to the construction by the FRG of a national pavillion at the former concentration camp Auschwitz, the placing of plaques commemorating

the German resistance movement at the castle in Krzyzowa and at the former headquarters near Ketrzyn and also at the house in Chelmno where Kurt Schumacher was born.

On its part the German side gives consent to the placing by the Polish side of commemorative plaques at the former concentration camp in Bergen-Belsen and at the southern cemetery in Nurnberg and to take care of Polish soldiers' graves at the cemetery in Murnau.

Humanitarian cooperation is the subject of chapter six. It says among other things that applications for awarding or releasing from citizenship of a given country will be reviewed in the interest of applicants, without delay and without high costs.

In chapter seven Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany say that they strive for a Europe of peace and cooperation which will see in particular:

—Realization of human rights,

—Inviolability of borders and respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty of all countries in Europe within their present borders,

—Priority in international and internal policy being given to a ban on the use of force, to respect for human rights and the right of nations to self-determination, and to a peaceful settlement of disputes, equality of states and non-interference in internal affairs,

—The right for every country to choose its own political and social system and to shape its relations with other countries in a sovereign way,

—Creative forces of people, potential of an economy based on division of labour and on scientific and technological accomplishments being used with a view to strengthened peace and increased prosperity of all countries and nations.

Both sides highly assess the Helsinki CSCE Final Act and the final documents from Madrid and Vienna as significant steps on the road to this goal.

Both sides consistently come out for a further progress in the CSCE process. They stress the significance of a broad pan-European dialogue, embracing all traditional and new topics, including regular meetings at the highest political level.

They stress the necessity of a broad and ever closer cooperation in economy, science and technology to the benefit of entire Europe. They will closely cooperate in this spirit at the CSCE conference on economic cooperation in Europe to be held in Bonn next spring.

They fully appreciate the joint statement by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Community dated June 25, 1988 and the normalization of relations as well as accords on trade and cooperation signed in the meantime by the EC and CMEA member-states, and a political dialogue started by the Twelve and states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty.

The sides deem it a top priority task of their policies to refer to historically shaped European traditions and to contribute to overcoming the division of Europe.

In chapter eight, both sides reaffirm that the goal of their policies is to effectively prevent any war and secure and shape peace. They firmly come out in favour of further progress in the process of arms control and disarmament.

They will do their best so that the first accord on conventional armed forces in Europe could be signed as early as 1990.

Both sides confirm their support for the negotiations between the USSR and the U.S. concerning a 50-per cent reduction of their strategic nuclear weapons and they come out for the quickest possible introduction of a worldwide, broad and effectively verifiable ban on chemical weapons.

In chapter nine Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany express a deep conviction that the development of relations outlined in this joint statement has a fundamental significance for peace, security and stability in Europe and for a positive development of the entirety of East-West relations.

Both sides confirm that the development of their relations does not infringe upon commitments ensuing from their respective treaties and alliances. Their cooperation is not aimed against anybody but serves the best interests of all nations of Europe.

In tune with a deep and long-lasting wish of their nations, both sides will strive for healing the wounds of the past through agreement and reconciliation, they will strengthen mutual confidence and jointly shape a better future, the sides state in conclusion.

Kohl, Mazowiecki Hotel Speeches

AU1611134489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Nov 89 p 5

[PAP report on speeches by FRG Chancellor Kohl and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki at a reception given by Chancellor Kohl in honor of the Polish premier at the Marriott Hotel in Warsaw on 13 November]

[Text] On Monday, Helmut Kohl, chancellor of the FRG, held a reception at the Marriott Hotel in honor of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Greeting his guests, Chancellor Kohl thanked the Polish Premier for the warmth of the reception which was accorded to him during his visit to Poland. For me—said the chancellor—this is a very important visit. A few weeks ago, I made a speech in the Bundestag on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of World War II. In that speech, I expressed opinions which I was able to repeat during my present visit in Poland. I belong to that

generation of Germans who have accepted that all the things that happened then, should never be repeated. This is the great goal of my life and my political activity, and from it comes the will to draw lessons from history, and the reason I find myself here today, so that I may—with you, Mr Premier, with the president, with whom I had occasion to talk at length, and with all people in Poland who bear us goodwill—to begin a new chapter of our history.

This morning I was in Lublin and spoke to the students there. Looking at their young faces I thought to myself that it is very important that we are totally successful, and that our work for peace becomes a reality. All this is taking place at such a very important time in international politics, at a time when outdated structures are collapsing, at a time when barriers are being dismantled, and at a time when the wise people are saying that this really means the end of World War II.

A moment ago, I received news—continued the chancellor—that next Saturday there is to be a meeting of the leaders of the member states of the European Community, in Paris. At this upcoming meeting we shall discuss the existing situation. While there, I shall brief my colleagues on my visit to Poland, and of the dramatic events and developments in the GDR. In Paris I shall repeat what I would like to say here, namely, that I am convinced that what is taking place at present is more than has ever happened before. This conviction stems from the development of the situation in the GDR, and from the talks that I have had in Poland. I will also say that Europe is undergoing a breakthrough, and, despite its long history, it is becoming a young continent. Europe is not just the Europe of the EEC. Our vision also encompasses Warsaw, Krakow, Budapest, Prague, Dresden, Leipzig, and many other towns which have not yet been embraced by our European Community. That Europe needs Poland, and Poland needs Europe. Germany is an important part of that Europe, and for that reason, Germany needs Poland, just as Poland needs Germany.

That is why I would like to say to you all here—dear friends, let us proceed together toward this great Europe, our Europe, a Europe in which there will be room for all.

Replying to the words of the chancellor, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki referred to the meeting at Krzyzowa, and stated that during his journey to Krzyzowa, the FRG Chancellor was able to see for himself that normal Polish life goes on there, and the people who came for the mass at Krzyzowa—in the majority Poles, but some of German origin, and those who claimed German origin—stood next to each other, conversing in a friendly manner.

As a politician Mr Chancellor, you know very well how important understanding is among people. I can say that your visit here has contributed to this understanding. I think this way after the talks that we have held and after your longer talk with the president. This mutual understanding is very important for the future. It is important that we shall sign the joint documents—documents which have largely been prepared before this visit—but the sort of content that we instill into these documents is just as important. It is the future which is important. For this we need a deeper understanding of our mutual points of view. I think that for us Poles, having the feeling of certainty about the durability of the regulations that form part of the 1970 Treaty is the most important aspect. There is also the fact that mutual understanding has taken a step forward.

In the speech that I gave when I held a reception in your honor, I stated that Europe cannot be divided into those countries enjoying favorable economic development and into those countries who are struggling to solve the most elementary difficulties. Very shortly you will be meeting the leaders of the countries of Western Europe. I would urge you, Mr Chancellor, to adopt a bold view of our future relations. We not only need a lightening of our difficulties, and especially some further loosening of the tether of our debt, but its total removal. You know that the possibilities that you received during your own rebuilding were of great benefit to you, and these were offered to us too, but at that time it was not possible for us to draw on them. The time has come when you can without hesitation really help us. Let me be permitted to say—let the extent of your courage rise and match the courage of our democratic transformations.

Sejm Holds 2-Day Session, Adopts Laws

Begins Session 16 Nov

LD1611143789 Warsaw PAP in English 1401 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 16—The Sejm today began a two-day session with the agenda covering:

—A report of the economic policy, budget and finance committee and the legislative committee on the government draft law on special principles of socio-economic planning in 1990 and on amending some laws,

—The first reading of a government draft law on amending some regulations of the penal code,

—Election of members of the constitutional tribunal,

—First reading of parliamentary draft law on the national donation fund,

—A report of the justice committee and legislative committee on the parliamentary draft law on amnesty,

—Question period.

Adopts Amnesty Law

LD1611235289 Warsaw PAP in English 2255 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 16—The Sejm adopted today the law on amnesty. Following are its main provisions:

—Legal proceedings are conditionally discontinued into crimes (financial ones including) threatened with the punishment under three-year imprisonment, in which judicial decision has not been issued.

—Stayed is the carrying out of sentences of up to two-year imprisonment, even validly ruled, in cases of intentional crimes and of up to three-year imprisonment for unintentional crimes. The stay is ruled for a trial period equal to the term of punishment decreed or left to be served.

—Shortened is by a half a trial period in cases of conditional stay of the carrying out of an imprisonment sentence. Fines decreed at conditional staying not paid wholly or in part are remitted.

—Remitted are validly decreed sentences of restriction of liberty of fines. If within a year from the remittal a perpetrator commits an intentional crime, the decision on the remittal may be abated.

—Imprisonment sentences for more serious crimes (financial ones including) are shortened by a half in cases of up to ten-year penalty and by one third in cases of over ten-year sentences. twenty-five-year imprisonment is changed into fifteen-year penalty, and the capital punishment into twenty-five-year imprisonment.

—Remitted is additional punishment of confiscation of property not carried out wholly or in part.

—The amnesty does not apply to multiple recidivists, murderers, perpetrators of fatal road accidents caused while intoxicated, perpetrators of group rape or rape with extraordinary cruelty, perpetrators of robbery, burglary and particularly audicious larceny. Obligatorily the amnesty law does not apply to war criminals, perpetrators of crimes against humanity and traitors of the Polish nation.

—The amnesty applies to crimes committed before September 12 this year.

PAP Report

LD1611235589 Warsaw PAP in English 2303 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 16—The proposed national donation fund is an initiative of Sejm deputies but in its essence it was prompted by the citizens and has roots spreading far beyond the parliament, said Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz as he presented the bill to the Sejm today. A Sejm debate was opened by the first reading of the proposal.

Later in the debate the Sejm decided to amend the law adopted last May whose scope has been considerably expanded. The law in question concerns special rights of persons fired from work (between August 1980 and April 10, this year) because of their activities in trade unions, self-managements, political or religious outlooks, to get their jobs back.

The amended law covers all forms in which contracts were terminated, whether they were dismissed by the employer, or left themselves, even if they left under the employer's pressure.

These regulations will also apply to former career officers, policemen, prisons guards, and firemen. The discussants pointed to the fact that their time out of work, including the internment period, prison term, and time spent in hiding will be regarded as continuous employment.

Another important Sejm decision adopted today is the amnesty law, a combination of amnesty and parol aimed to put the further fates of those freed in their own hands, Deputy Andrzej Kern told the chamber.

Adam Michnik was scheduled as the last deputy wishing to speak about the amnesty bill. He described the idea of the present amnesty as "giving chance."

However, the temperature of the discussion rose and over a dozen more deputies took the floor to defend or oppose the bill but, finally, it was adopted in 3 voting rounds.

Also today the Sejm voted the law on special principles of social and economic planning in 1990 and on amendments to other selected laws. The central point of the new law, that is, the rejection of central annual plans plus consolidation of financial plans and balances starting next year. To replace the central annual plan, the government will submit to the parliament and consult with the trade unions its guidelines for socio-economic policy in 1990.

Describing these moves head of the Central Planning Office Minister Jerzy Osiatynski said they should be analysed in the context of the changing role of the state in economy. These solutions serve the economic programme whose aim is to build a market system.

Speaking for the Sejm committees Deputy Bonawentura Ziemba said that as long as a stock exchange, currency and capital market, are not operating in Poland, the main questions of creating economic processes during the transitory period should be determined by the economic policy.

The government bill on amendments to selected regulations of the criminal code had its first reading in the Sejm and will later be worked on by the committees. Justice Minister Aleksander Bentkowski said that this law was meant to set up a relatively uniform system of criminal responsibility for stealth, regardless of whose the stolen property was.

The laws adopted by the Sejm today included the amended law on rural social fund.

Deputy floors and individual members of parliament today named their candidates for the constitutional tribunal. Voting will be held on Friday morning as soon as the Sejm resumes debate at 9.00.

Council of Ministers Examines Fuels, Energy

AU0911182789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Sep 89 p 2

[Text] PAP—The Council of Ministers met on 6 November, chaired by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

It discussed the wage policy that will be in force until the end of the year. The Sejm has already reached basic decisions concerning the possibility of increasing wages. The amended law on indexation has set out the rules governing wage increases in the material production sphere in the final quarter of 1989. However, similar rules concerning wage rises in the budgetary sphere were set out in the 31 January 1989 law on financial resources for wages in the budget sphere. Neither law permits the government to make any departures from the rules in this sphere.

The Council of Ministers stressed that it is impermissible for any representative of the state administration to conclude any agreement that calls for a wage increase higher than the level envisaged by the laws in question.

The Council of Ministers examined ways of counteracting the effects of the fall in coal extraction.

In connection with this, the Council of Ministers adopted draft changes to the distribution of coal in the final quarter. At the same time, it considered it essential to increase extraction by the end of the year. Work aimed at increasing extraction in 1990 and beyond is being undertaken. Also, the economic-financial and organizational system of the mining industry is being restructured, and ways of rationalizing energy consumption in this industry are being considered.

The Council of Ministers examined the possibility of balancing out the fuel economy. In a situation where there are no funds to pay for additional fuel imports, it is essential to introduce mechanisms whereby wholesale and retail prices of fuel are closely connected with the price of crude oil on foreign markets. Such mechanisms, in harmony with the principles of a market economy, are supposed to encourage equilibrium and a proper relationship of prices in the entire economy. The wholesale prices of crude oil will be determined by the "Ciech" fuel import-export organization, and these prices will gradually increase in line with changes in convertible currency exchange rates. At the same time, the retail prices of gasoline and fuel oil will rise gradually, not suddenly as has been the case until now.

Another NKVD Grave Discovered in Zamosc

LD1611184589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1647 GMT 16 Nov 89

[text] Another common grave of Home Army (AK) soldiers, who had been executed by the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] and Security Services, has been discovered in a forest near the village of (Jatnia) in Zamosc voivodship. As in the first grave, which contained about 50 skulls which had been shot in the back, in the second grave also, just discovered, there are about 30 skulls with bullet holes. Representatives of the Prosecutor's Office, the ZBOWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] and other organizations are present at the site of the crime.

Miners' Federation Responds to Mazowiecki Appeal

AU1711093389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Nov 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "The View of the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions"]

[Text] The statement issued by the Federation of Miners' Trade Union says in part:

"We have received the premier's appeal with understanding, as we have known about the fuel and energy situation in the country and the declining extraction capabilities of the Polish mining industry.

"Since its inception, the federation has struggled for normal working hours in mines in line with principles that are similar to those that exist in other branches of industry in our country.

"However, in the efforts that we have made, we have always taken account of the well-being of the country and the economy. So, we are not opposed to work being performed on Saturdays, and we have sought to ensure that the work is voluntary and suitably paid. Nevertheless, we cannot conceal our surprise that the appeal was addressed directly to work forces after the government had taken action against mining. The industry ministry is advocating structural changes that are too rapid and entail an artificial division of mining that has not been thoroughly thought out."

The unions' statement stresses: "As a result of these undertakings and the creation of an unfavorable atmosphere around mining, action is being taken that seeks to deprive miners of their traditional rights. Many mines have insufficient funds to pay wages in the near future.

"We fully realize that contrary to what they have declared, successive governments have essentially done very little to promote the development of energy-saving technology, which provides the only opportunity to reduce extraction levels. We believe that the government should make public its position on the situation in mining and its prospects. With this aim in mind, we

propose that a television debate should be held with the participation of trade union representatives and members of the government.

"We declare once again that our response to the premier's appeal is one of understanding and we believe that the final say in this matter rests with mine work forces."

Mazowiecki Adviser Interview on Economy

PM1511114089 Paris LE MONDE in French 7 Nov 89 p 7

[Eric Fottorino dispatch: "The Polish Economists' Headache"]

[Excerpt] Warsaw—Waldemar Kuczynski seemed lost in his huge office, which he crossed with a limp—the last trace of polio which he suffered a long time ago. His diminutive figure was swallowed up in a big armchair. Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki's favorite adviser is an academic economist suddenly launched into the test of government. "We were not prepared for it. The Solidarity team is not drawn from any shadow cabinet." All kinds of emotions were reflected in his face. The confidence of being on the right path. The anxiety of not succeeding. A feeling of intoxication faced with a plan which, like his office, must strike him as too grand. Waldemar Kuczynski speaks French but, that morning, he preferred to speak in his native language. "I have a headache. I have just spent several hours with the representatives of the Chief Council of Cooperatives." It was a fierce battle, which he summed up: The government wants to dismantle the intermediate structures of the so-called cooperatives as soon as possible. "This movement," he explained, "which comprises 15 million adults, is a terrible disease inherited from the Stalinist period. From 1948, the grass-roots cooperatives were forced to form unions led from above to bring about the state ownership of trade and services. This noncompetitive and stagnant sector produced a bureaucracy which is based on 15 million dead souls, as in Gogol."

The cooperatives still have a disproportionate hold. It affects housing, mechanical equipment for farmers, village stores, commerce in the cities.... "We want to eliminate this fiction and revive the true cooperative movement by only maintaining the basic units and just one higher council," Waldemar Kuczynski explained. He admitted that he made a "slight blunder" when he proposed the public sale of these structures. The cooperative members felt that they were being expropriated. The government finally decided in favor of a joint ownership system. But the law on cooperatives which makes provision for dissolving organizations which have a monopoly still arouses much resistance.

Establishing a market economy, privatizing public companies, laying the foundations for an opening up based on the convertibility of the zloty and the strengthening of foreign trade with the West, encouraging the rise of small and medium-sized enterprises and joint ventures, eliminating subsidies, and controlling wage increases—the new style desired for Poland is putting a strain on the Mazowiecki government. It is not easy to popularize the idea of austerity when you have raised the Solidarity banner: "Our priority," Waldemar Kuczynski said, "is a policy of stabilization which will overcome inflation. But how can you follow a drastic deflationist policy in a country which is moving toward democracy and which is still 90 percent state-owned."

Splits are appearing within the government team between an uncompromising free market approach support by young Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz and a social democratic sensitivity represented by Labor Minister Jacek Kuron. "We are living under pressure from imminent dangers," Waldemar Kuczynski continued: "financial disaster, budgetary catastrophe. Our time has been taken up by the drafting of the provisional finance bill and the drafting of the reform plan submitted to the IMF. During this short period, we have not been able to implement a short-term economic policy. The people are affected by that."

The promised Western aid is welcome. It cannot suffice. Since the start of the year, the zloty has been devalued 12 times. According to experts, its value is still set too high. Without a stabilization loan from the IMF, without an increase in the exchange reserves in the banks, the national currency will be subject to new and spectacular variations. Affected by the debt and the shortages, the economy is incapable of moving "from the era of food parcels to that of the stock market," as the newspaper GAZETA WYBORCZA wrote at the end of October. Although they accept the IMF's strict rules in principle, the country's leaders are urging the Washington organization to take account of "Poland's specific situation" namely the virtual absence of market mechanisms. There is no question of jumping into the void without a safety net, even in the view of the most fervent advocates of the free market.

If he peers out of the window, Waldemar Kuczynski can probably see the presidential palace where General Jaruzelski resides. This proximity prompted him to take a serious tone: "The year 1989 is the worst year since 1981. Production is falling, as are GNP, our foreign trade surplus, and our foreign currency reserves. Coal production is falling because the miners have secured Saturday as a nonworking day. I understand them, but this creates economic problems. We may not produce enough coal to export to the USSR in exchange for oil. Moreover, the farmers no longer want to sell their wheat. The harvest is good, but they are keeping it as currency. They no longer have confidence in the zloty, and we are going to be short of 900,000 tonnes of grain." Tadeusz Mazowiecki's main adviser spoke in accurate French this time: "The economic situation is like the one which prevailed in 1981 on the eve of martial law." [Passage omitted]

Jaruzelski Grants 826 Pardons

LD1611225289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Acting within legal parameters and implementing the Humanitarian Act of 17 August this year, the president of the Polish People's Republic has by today examined requests for pardons submitted by the prosecutor general and has taken the decision to grant a pardon in 826 cases.

Jaruzelski Letter to 'Vistula-Odra' Society

AU1511172589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Nov 89 p 2

[Letter from President Wojciech Jaruzelski to the National Conference of the "Vistula-Odra" Society—date and place not given]

[Text] To the participants of the all-Polish conference entitled "The Polish Raison d'Etat—Shaping the National Consciousness of the Poles":

Ladies and Gentlemen. Valuing the work of the "Vistula-Odra" Society, I was interested to learn of the subject of your present conference.

Expanding and consolidating the national consciousness of Poles is a particularly important task today. All the patriotic forces of our diverse society may and should rally around the supreme values of the Polish raison d'etat. That is one of the basic platforms of national accord.

We establish our bonds with the fatherland and its language and culture in the first years of our lives. However, in a rapidly changing world, it is not always easy to find points of reference that permit one to combine patriotism and civic duty with a feeling of belonging to the cultural and social community of Europe, and merge one's own patriotism with common patriotism.

That is why it is so important to understand the essence of the raison d'etat. It defines the objective basic conditions for national existence and for inviolable state interests. Pride of place among these is still occupied by Poland's security and the inviolability of our state borders.

The fact that your conference is taking place on the anniversary of our independence, in the heart of Upper Silesia, on territory that experienced a struggle for Polish identity, is a symbol that combines beautiful tradition with the modern substance of patriotism.

I am convinced that your conference and its results will serve the fatherland well.

I wish you fruitful talks.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic.

President Chairs Voivodship Council Meeting

LD1511114189 Warsaw PAP in English 1008 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 15—Heads of People's Voivodship Councils are discussing here today the participation of peoples' councils in overcoming the most severe difficulties experienced by society, and the future model of local self-government.

The meeting is chaired by President Wojciech Jaruzelski.

PZPR's Wiatr Comments on State of Party

AU1611155189 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 15 Nov 89 p 4

[Burkhard Bischof report on interview with Slawomir Wiatr, PZPR Secretary and "chief ideologist of the PZPR": "Old PZPR Without Basis for Existence"]

[Text] "It is a precipitate conclusion to describe the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] as being in a state of agony." The man who said this certainly does not give the impression of a comrade who is about to leave the political stage for some time or even for good. Slawomir Wiatr was recently appointed chief ideologist of the PZPR, and he is one of those functionaries, who were appointed by Mieczyslaw Rakowski to radically rejuvenate the leading apparatus.

Wiatr stressed that it was the PZPR that initiated the dramatic changes in Poland this year. The political system has radically changed, which means that the parties and social organizations of Poland must rethink their traditional roles, he said. As far as the PZPR is concerned, this means in particular: "In the form in which the PZPR was founded 41 years ago by uniting the Polish Socialist Party and the Polish Workers' Party, it no longer has a basis of existence. Its form of organization, its ideological dogmas, and its programmatic objectives are outdated," Wiatr said.

As some of the outdated dogmas, the Central Committee secretary mentioned the leading role of the party and the dominating character of state ownership of the means of production. Such dogmas have caused the development of an inefficient system and, thus, the political and economic crisis in Poland. Nevertheless, this is not the opinion of all people within the PZPR. Certain members and functionaries still tend to believe that the loss of the party's leading role must be blamed on comrades in the leadership, that one must find and charge the responsible people.

Wiatr described the situation within the party in the following way: A minority of members (between 15 and 25 percent) wants to preserve the party in its traditional form; these are the former "hardliners," who set the course for many decades. However, approximately three-quarters of the members clearly supported a "new, modern, and democratic program" in a survey carried out within the party, and were also in favor of giving the

party a new name. Yet the term "social democratic" reeks too much of a capitalist system, Wiatr said. He prefers "democratic socialists."

Moreover, he is convinced that the basis for a progressive left-wing workers party has not disappeared in Poland. "The future economic development under new rules of the game creates a strong and solid basis for a party that is oriented toward democratic- socialist and social-liberal principles."

The Central Committee secretary also pointed out that within the Polish Communist Party there has always been a relatively strong wing of reformers. He mentioned that two former PZPR members are now in Mazowiecki's government as representatives of Solidarity: Vice Premier and Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz, who was a party member and staffer at the Marxism-Leninism Institute until 1982, and Education Minister Henryk Samsonowicz, who was a PZPR member for 30 years.

He said that for him personally it was also a vital issue that the reformers would gain the upper hand at the party congress and that a clear majority would be in favor of the change. It was also party chief Rakowski's primary goal that the unity of the party be preserved. However, if certain segments were to break away from the party, it would not be problematic either. In this respect, Wiatr does not expect that it will necessarily be the National Trade Union Federation, headed by its populist leader Alfred Miodowicz, that might leave the left-wing party that is to be newly created.

Wiatr does not regard the developments in Hungary as a warning, where after the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] was converted into the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP], former MSZMP members have been reluctant to change over to the HSP. "Today it is no longer important that we are able to retain millions of members in our party. What is important is the commitment and the motivation of the members. I prefer party supporters that participate actively in the programmatic and organizational work, for instance in an election campaign, to people that are members only on paper. Thus, one has to be prepared to sacrifice millions of unmotivated members for several hundreds or several thousands of keen activists."

Further on Polish Arms Exports Discussion

AU1411184389 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 Nov 89 pp 4, 5

[Interview with Colonel Piotr Pawluczuk and Colonel Wladyslaw Szewczyk, director and deputy director of the Central Board of Engineering of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation, by Wlodzimierz Kalicki: "Will Sell Good Tank on Favorable Terms"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Kalicki] The First "T. Kosciuszko" Infantry Division, which was formed in the USSR in 1943 under the auspices of the Union of Polish Patriots, was armed and equipped by the Soviet Union. In view of the political origins of postwar Poland, it would appear that the Polish People's Republic started trading in arms before it was established.

[Pawluczuk] It would be difficult to call it trade. The Polish Army was being equipped without having to pay anything at that time.

As soon as the war was over, although we started to manufacture weapons in our country, we did not export them. We imported large quantities of military equipment from the USSR. The transactions were conducted between the armies of the two countries directly, without the participation of trade organizations.

In 1951 an engineering department was set up in the ministry of foreign trade. Similar institutions with almost identical names were set up in all the socialist countries at that time. The Polish engineering department was primarily involved in importing military equipment, solely from the USSR in fact, until the middle of the 1950's. In 1955 a Central Board of Engineering was established in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. CENZIN, as it was called, was a government institution that had the exclusive right to sell military equipment to foreign countries. Its basic tasks have not changed since 1955: It is responsible for exports of arms manufactured in Poland, for supplying the Polish Armed Forces with imported arms, and for cooperation deliveries (import-export deliveries) to defense industries.

[Kalicki] When did Poland begin to export weapons?

[Pawluczuk] During the 1950's. Until 1960 our exports to the socialist countries included: small arms, 57-mm antiaircraft guns, 122 mm and 85-mm artillery pieces, 122-mm howitzers, 82-mm and 120-mm mortars, as well as ammunition. In 1959 we concluded our first contract for the export of aircraft; the export of MiG-17 fighter aircraft to the GDR. That year also saw our first sales of military equipment for dollars: We sold several "Nysa" radar stations to Indonesia.

[Kalicki] Did we sell them or were they a present?

[Pawluczuk] Indonesia paid for them. Incidentally, the "Nysa" was quite a good export product. We sold them to Egypt in the 1960's. Other items that sold well were R-123 tank radio stations, the MI-1 and the later MI-2 helicopters, small arms, and artillery ammunition, which were sold for both rubles and dollars. We also began to export T-54 tanks to Libya, Egypt, and Iraq in the 1960's.

In the 1970's our basic export product was the T-55 tank, but we continued to sell a lot of small arms, artillery ammunition, and MiG-15 and MiG-17 aircraft. New types of weapons that we offered were surface-to-air missiles and guided antitank missiles. We also exported a lot of "Iskra" training and interceptor fighters. The largest order, one for 50 units, came from India.

In the 1980's our main export product were the T-72 tank, MTLB [expansion unknown] armored personnel carriers, technical vehicles, and radar and air defense guidance systems designed in Poland.

[Kalicki] As a rule, leading exporters on the world arms market have at least one type of weapon that has the best possible specifications. These kinds of products were the Soviet Kalashnikov, the Israeli UZI machine gun, the America Stinger antiaircraft missile, and the French air-to-sea Exocet missile. Has Poland had any kind of export hit of this sort since the war?

[Answer] We have not had a weapon of the class of the Stinger or Exocet, but many types of weapons were of a very good world standard. There is not doubt that an export hit for a good many years were the landing craft designed and built in Poland. The T-54 and T-55 tanks, of which we sold more than 3,000 during the years 1960-80, were another hit. To be frank, tank exports have been the cornerstone of our arms exports for years. We have sold more than 5,000 MI-2 helicopters and exported more than 10,000 AN-2 aircraft, and we are continuing to sell them. The MiG-17 fighter aircraft also sold well.

That our equipment is of good quality is borne out by the fact that we have been selling the same types of weapons on the same markets for years and none of our customers has complained about the quality of the equipment or have decided to change to another supplier.

[Kalicki] What class of weapon does the board sell today?

[Pawluczuk] The T-72 is comparable with the best tanks on the world market. In terms of the quality of the armor, traction, and armaments, it is in no way inferior to West European or American tanks. It fully meets world standards in terms of its machine guns and light antitank missiles—the "Trzmiel" and "Malutka" are very good missiles now. We do not have any "intelligent" missiles. The state of our country's electronic subassembly unit capacity makes it difficult to produce them.

As for communications and radar equipment, our systems are not, in terms of some of their specifications, on a par with the latest generation of such systems available on the world market, but they are good and are bought eagerly. Our landing craft, vessels for nautical surveying, and floating repair facilities continue to occupy a strong position in our exports.

We have not noticed any significant progress in our exports of artillery pieces and mortars. We do not produce surface-to-surface missiles.

[Kalicki] How do you reconcile the high opinion of Polish radar air defense guidance systems with how helpless the equipment was in the face of the U.S. air attack on Libya?

[Pawluczuk] Our equipment was only one part of the general air defense system. According to information that we have, the Polish equipment did not fail.

[Kalicki] I understand that the information that you received has not been used properly. What about the hardware produced by the Polish aeronautics industry? Before the war it was the most advanced part of the Polish defense industry. The PZL P-24 fighter aircraft that were bought by Greece fared very well against the Italian Air Force, and the excellent PZL P-37 "Los" medium-range bomber was used by the Romanian Air Force to great effect against the Soviet defenders of Odessa in 1941.

[Pawluczuk] Our exports of the MiG-15 and MiG-17, which were built under license, were very successful. Unfortunately, the expansion of the Polish military aeronautics industry stopped in the 1960's when the Polish political leadership did not agree to buy a license to produce the MiG-19 fighter from the USSR. The continued expansion of the production of fighter aircraft was interrupted, and today we do not manufacture the MiG or the SU. Czechoslovakia is producing them, and it has an excellent export product. The aeronautics industry is working on a new "Iryda" training aircraft, but that is not the same thing as a combat aircraft. Our success in manufacturing helicopters has shown that we wasted a great opportunity, and not just in an economic sense.

[Kalicki] On what basis did the board trade with the socialist countries?

[Pawluczuk] It was always a question of supplying the Polish Armed Forces and the armies of our trading partners with equipment that was not produced in a given country. Production specialization and supply quotas were decided on at meetings of the Warsaw Pact command. So, our involvement in trade came down to negotiating prices and organizational matters.

[Kalicki] What about trading on the world market? Did you not primarily implement decisions made by the USSR?

[Pawluczuk] Not in the way that you think. By far the greatest part of the military equipment that was and continues to be produced in our country is made under Soviet license. Like other socialist countries, we have received licenses to produce small arms, ammunition, tanks (beginning with the T-34) and communications equipment. We pay a licence charge for every unit of an item of weaponry of this kind that we export. For example, we continue to pay this charge for every T-72 tank that we export.

[Kalicki] Is it a lot?

[Pawluczuk] It amounts to several percent.

[Kalicki] Did the USSR impose any bans on Polish arms exports?

[Pawluczuk] Yes, but not in the form of indirect political pressure. It took the form of restrictions attached to a license when it was purchased. For example, there were some license restrictions on sales of certain types of weapons to Egypt and Iran during certain years. Poland is only obliged to observe a total ban on exports of weapons made under license with respect to the Republic of South Africa and Israel. As far as the Republic of South Africa is concerned, we apply a total ban on exports of all types of weapons.

[Kalicki] Did these restrictions impact severely on Polish commercial interests?

[Pawluczuk] Sometimes, and therefore the Polish defense industry sought to develop original weapons systems that were not subject to the license restrictions. That is how we came, for example, to develop a small 5.45-mm machine gun and the ammunition for it, as well as develop a laser-operated guidance system for tank fire.

[Kalicki] Did the USSR force the board to export arms to specific recipients?

[Pawluczuk] No, arms exports were and are the internal affair of the Polish People's Republic. Arms exports are very profitable viewed from the economic angle. We have always had to fight hard against exports from other socialist countries for every contract. In hard currency countries, commerical representatives of the USSR and France represent the same thing for our representativies, that is, the competition.

[Kalicki] What place does Poland occupy among arms exporters?

[Pawluczuk] A position that is commensurate with its capabilities. Our turnover is a fraction of that of the big world powers: the USSR, the USA, China, France, England, the FRG, and the Israel. We cannot compare ourselves with the USSR or China for obvious reasons: We do not have their industrial capacity or political influence. Yugoslavia is much better than us. It has been developing an export-oriented arms industry for years: It produces weapons and ammunition that according to both Soviet and NATO design patterns. It also builds many specialized military facilities abroad. In addition, as the organizer of the Nonaligned Movement, it has excellent political contacts.

Among the socialist countries, we occupy a position in arms exports that is similar to that of Czechoslovakia.

Polish Peasant Party's Kaleta Interviewed

PM1311110689 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 13 Oct 89 p 3

[Interview with Edward Kaleta, member of the Polish Peasant Party Interim Executive Committee Presidium, by Tomasz Ordyk; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Edward Kaleta, lawyer and peasant movement activist, joined the [Polish] Peasant Party [PSL] in 1933. He worked with Wincenty Witos [PSL founder and leader; Prime Minister 1920-21, 1923 and 1926] during the latter's enforced exile in Czechoslovakia. During the war he was involved with underground peasant structures. After the liberation he joined the PSL leadership under Stanislaw Mikolajczyk and headed the party's regional structures in Silesia. He was imprisoned several times in the Stalinist period. After the disbanding of the PSL he retired from active politics. On 15 August 1989 he joined the Presidium of the PSL Interim Executive Committee, which was set up in Wilanow. The Interim Executive Committee is headed by General Franciszek Kaminski, former commandant of the Peasant Battalions.

[Ordyk] Let us first try to get this straight: A group of former activists, convened at Wilanow, announced a reactivation of the Polish Peasant Party. Before long, there followed a whole spate of announcements proclaiming the setting up of new PSL groups all over the place. Each of these has a leader who would like to give the impression that he is a modern-day Wincenty Witos. There are public committees for the restoration of the peasant movement, based mainly on people involved with the United Peasant Party [ZSL], and a "green roundtable" debate is under way. Everybody declares loudly that their supreme goal is the creation of a new, strong, and unified peasant party. At the same time, however, contrary to the declarations of unity, there is continuing struggle and contest between individual factions, and personal power games take the place of discussion on the future party program. What is it then: a party for the peasants or a vehicle designed to satisfy the ambitions of a group of landed gentry?

[Kaleta] We are the PSL: we who set up this party, who belonged to it, who went to prison for it, who preserved the historic tradition of the PSL, and who refused to join the ZSL. The PSL was disbanded and physically destroyed. Gomulka announced publicly that he would demolish the PSL, and that was indeed what happened. But some of our members have lived to see the present day. We have preserved a historical and personal continuity. We have also preserved a political identity and the 1946 party program. We are the only party which resisted those who introduced the Stalinist order in Poland. Today any group can call itself the PSL. There can be a Solidarity PSL, a Kodrab PSL, and there can be a PSL under the name of Slisz [chairman of Individual Farmers' Solidarity], Bak, or Teliga. Some ZSL structures are also by now passing themselves off as PSL. Personally, I am not worried by this multiplicity of guises. We could, of course, invoke Article 24 of the civil code—which deals with protection of rights to personal property—against those who use the PSL's name without our authorization, but we are not going to take anyone to court over it. This is not what we are seeking. They may use the name, but they cannot appropriate our claim to historical continuity. No one else can lay claim to our place in history. We are not just a Wilanow group. We are the genuine and true Polish Peasant Party.

[Ordyk] But for the past 40 years the PSL did not exist even clandestinely. The ZSL took over the continuation of the tradition of the peasant movement, which will soon celebrate its centenary.

[Kaleta] The times were such that the PSL could not exist. We were, as it were, in "internal exile," as Stanislaw Mierzwa called it. The circumstances were not favorable for a reactivation of our party. It is only now that we decided, considering our internal and external circumstances, that the time is right to reactivate the PSL. It is only today that the conditions are favorable for a reconstruction of our party as one which is accepted and approved by the people. I believe that the realities of the present day permit the revival of historical parties. The workers, the world of labor, enjoy the right to have their own representation. This does not have to be a single party, as practiced over the past decades. The peasants must have a party of their own, too, and its shape and its program must be decided by the peasants themselves.

[Ordyk] But in the meantime the peasants are keeping well away, standing on the sidelines of the general chaos which surrounds the whole peasant movement. They are not interested in the personal power games taking place. They are awaiting concrete results, which are difficult to identify amid the deluge of words and declarations.

[Kaleta] At the moment everyone is in a hurry to place themselves in a good bargaining position. Some think that they will automatically become the PSL as soon as they assume the name itself and that this will give them a winning bargaining counter. I do not believe this is a legitimate method. Haste is not needed here. Everything will sort itself out in its proper time. Peasants have enough wisdom to be able to judge for themselves who is worth following and who they should support. Success in the democratic system consists in winning the struggle for the electorate's support. This is the true measure of anyone's credibility. It is true that this feverish scramble for positions results in awkward, ill-considered moves. There was the occasion when Ludwiczak made a blunder, another when our colleague Kiec put his foot in it, and yet another when Slisz made a serious faux pas. All this resulted in quite unnecessary tensions and conflicts. I do not want to embark on a discussion and analysis of such details or to go into polemics over verbal wranglings. We do not need this. Let even 60 such groups be set up: one group here, another there; one claiming credit for this, another claiming credit for that; and one group after another pretending to the title of Witos's rightful heirs. Well, let them! If we are to have true democracy, there is no reason to fear: People will choose what is right, anyway.

[Ordyk] Do you not think that all this commotion around the subject is the result of the lack of strong leaders in the peasant movement—and, above all else, the lack of a cohesive program?

[Kaleta] We need time to find determined leaders and develop good programs. It is still too early for those vying for leading positions to gain sufficient credibility in people's eyes. I believe that we need some 2-3 years to clarify the situation of our movement and to develop its fundamental statutory and programmatic guidelines. It is only then that the leaders will emerge. But it is possible that we will no longer be in the leadership then. General Kaminski was born in 1902 and I was born in 1913. We will not be leaders any more. We have only brought to the movement the political line which we represent and will continue to represent. Our old statute and program must be brought up to date. We are bringing them to the movement as its historical heritage. We are not anxious to secure high positions, to become parliamentary deputies or senators. Our duty is to remain good Poles and to guard the interests of the Polish peasant movement.

[Ordyk] A typical feature of the current debates and disputes over the future of the peasant movement in Poland are the sharp attacks on the ZSL. It is even more interesting that they are often instigated by people who made their careers—frequently lofty and distinguished careers—precisely in the ZSL.

[Kaleta] I would tend to pour cold water on all that agitation. We need to look at these things from a certain distance. You can reproach the activists who, at the time, set up the other formation and who stood at its helm during different periods. But a wholesale generalization of such charges against all ZSL members would be too simplistic and it would also mean doing them an injustice. After all, no one asked peasants for their opinion when the ZSL was being set up. Also, the "lower echelons" of that organization active at local levels did a lot of good for the rural communities. Those "lower echelons" are now flocking to join us. They have been phoning me about it, they come to our offices, and their local circles express the wish to join the PSL wholesale, as it were. I say to them: "Take it easy, friends. We do not want to become an artificial conglomerate of diverse elements all lumped together for the sake of winning the one-upmanship stakes: There are so many of 'us' against so few of 'you'. Is is not difficult to change the name on the sign over No 2, Batorego Street in Krakow. That is not the point. You should first square accounts with the past and talk to your people. Tell them: We did what we did because the situation was what it was. If they understand you, it will be all right. If you accept our principles, we can cooperate with you." Those who until now were active in the ZSL do not necessarily have to disappear out of sight. If they have the initiative and the drive they will come to the fore again, but this will be decided by other members of the movement, who can test and assess their credibility for themselves. Situations varied in the past, too. Like today, there were the "reformers" and, during the post-1926 "sanative" regime we also had a whole cadre of "peasant adulators." Time itself will confirm or revise those attitudes. Provided the ZSL activists square their past accounts honestly, it is quite possible that we will yet meet with them at a future PSL congress.

[Ordyk] Obvious attempts are being made to build a modern PSL on the foundations of farmers' trade unions, particularly Solidarity. A trade union is an organization created mainly to protect its members' economic interests, which often contrast with the interests of political representation.

[Kaleta] Farmers must have their own trade union. If workers can have their unions, why should farmers be at a disadvantage in this respect? True, there are several people in Individual Farmers' Solidarity who have obviously heard a divine call exhorting them to take up political activity, but this is not the point here. In our present circumstances the balance between the union and the party has become disturbed. Since the situation is abnormal, these relations are abnormal too. I do not like it when Slisz says: Well, since gasoline prices have gone up, you must pay us more for milk: It is cheaper than beer, in any case. People want to drink milk as well as beer. And is beer perhaps so expensive because the brewing industry is in a shambles? A deregulated market distorts our view of all price relations. All goods should be reasonably priced, and everybody should find their production profitable—not only farmers. Everyone who works hard should be given a decent wage for his effort. Many problems which beset our life today would disappear automatically if this principle were followed. Today people have access to very few goods, but they take advantage of their numerous social welfare privileges to get by somehow. I, for example, as an old age pensioner, am entitled to free travel on municipal transport networks. True, the interests of urban and rural communities are conflicting, but that is no reason for people to go for each other's throats. The peasants are not going to eat everything that they produce themselves. They are holding on to their grain at the moment because they are uncertain of tomorrow. Our soaring inflation kills all enthusiasm for traditional prudent and rational agricultural husbandry. Let us try to establish normal economic relations, and we will immediately discover that a myriad problems which divide us today will simply disappear. It is not the brief of the trade union—much less that of the party—to negotiate the price of a hundredweight of potatoes. These things must be decided in the market.

[Ordyk] The peasant movement has not always been uniform in the past. Also today, even if we ignore the personal ambitions and aspirations of a number of members of the "landed gentry," there is a potential danger of the movement's becoming divided and stratified as a direct consequence of the division and stratification in the rural sector. The PSL has traditionally upheld the policy of agrarianism. Can this policy be successfully popularized among small so-called "three-acre" farmers?

[Kaleta] Attempts have always been made to divide and break us up. It is easier to divide and rule. They used to say that Witos was a right-winger because he owned his umpteen acres of land. In Mikolajczyk's times they used to call us "the peasants of Marszalkowska Street." Let me stress once again that a political party should not have to involve itself in the economics of production. We do not need to be "stratified:" We really are all peasants. Our agricultural system is indeed not what it should be. We must introduce land amalgamation, just as has been done in the Western world. It is a natural and rational development in today's agricultural practice. But we must provide conditions for this development to take place naturally. We must provide conditions for a free land market—but that is not all. If a peasant who also works in industry can earn a high wage in his other, industrial, job, he will not want to hold on to his land. But one who already has 10 hectares of land will buy another 5 because it will be worth his while: He already has the machines and he can utilize them to greater advantage on a large farm. We have always supported the idea of large farms. This will happen in time, provided economic conditions change. At the moment it is necessary to repair all that which was destroyed. Anyone who owned a large farm was destroyed as a "kulak". I remember defending farmers accused of causing a corn weevil infestation at the State Grain Elevators. That was a manifest absurdity, for it was impossible to prove to any single person that he was the one who introduced the weevil. But in those days such methods were considered perfectly acceptable in the struggle with the "class enemies" or "imperialist agents." Unfortunately we are still reaping the consequences of such practices today. That retreat from normal agricultural practice distorts people's attitudes even today. Young people often understand very little of these problems, but nevertheless they want to engage in "grand politics." But they have no background preparation! However, I am not blaming them. They have never known "normal" conditions. Despite all this, I am not anxious about the future of the peasant movement. The main thing is to put all emotions aside. There have always been people who shouted loudly, but it was not they who decided our future. We must not thwart young people's energy and enthusiasm, but we need to offer them opportunities to prove themselves in normal conditions. Then they will be able to sort the wheat from the chaff. We cannot try to build Poland's future without the peasant movement . We all need it. The peasant movement has always been a formation of the political Center, with whom others must cooperate. The movement must be cohesive and unified. Divisions lead nowhere.

[Ordyk] Thank you for talking to us.

Farmers Hold Officials Hostage for 24 Hours

LD1511135689 Warsaw PAP in English 1053 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Krosno, Nov. 15—About 100 farmers from 5 villages incorporated in the Dydnie village district in Krosno Voivodship (south-eastern) Poland, have taken over the district office in Dydnie, announcing a strike action after authorities failed to recognize the villages as lying in mountain areas, thus depriving them of economic privileges.

On Monday [13 November] the protesters declared a blockade of the district office, taking hostage its chairman, employees and two voivodship officials from Krosno who arrived for talks on the matter.

The striking farmers and their hostages occupied unheated office rooms for nearly 24 hours. The blockade in Dydnie was lifted follwing resumed negotiations on Tuesday night.

Forestry Workers 'Resolve To Leave' OPZZ

LD1611044189 Warsaw PAP in English
1904 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 15—The main Board of the Federation of Labour Organizations of State Forests' Workers resolved on Tuesday to quit the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ. The resolution followed a postulate from member-organizations, the head of the federations told PAP.

The federations activists were obliged to resign their posts in OPZZ statutory bodies and commissions.

Radio, Television Committee Head on Changes

LD1611043889 Warsaw PAP in English
2054 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 15—Head of the Committee for Radio and Television Andrzej Drawicz met here today with deputies-members of the Sejm Committee for Culture and Mass Media to brief them on the most important problems concerning the state-run radio and television in Poland.

The television is undergoing transformations that had been started before the management changed. The process aims to create a "television with a human face, with no party membership". Among the most urgent tasks there are the reinstating of those sacked for political reasons, changes in the TV local sections which depended tightly on local political authorities and replacing those TV journalists whose faces can be especially associated with the past.

The latter process is going on and will be continued according to professional criteria. Nobody will be sacked—they will be given job offers so that their professional skill can be well used.

Other inevitable changes concern legislatory issues, with the settling of the problem of radiocommittee's superior authority and its demonopolization.

Addressing the meeting, Deputy Aleksander Malachowski (Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group) suggested that the case of Maciej Szczepanski should be reexamined. Szczepanski, former head of the Committee for Radio and Television, made numerous important investments, the deputy said, but was "chosen a scapegoat of the system" under an "unfair verdict" and spent three years in jail "in barbarous conditions".

Officials Congratulate Soviet Counterparts on GOSR

AU1611094989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Nov 89 p 8

[Text] On the occasion of the 72d anniversary of the Great October Revolution, the following Yugoslav officials have sent their congratulations: SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek to Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet; Milan Pancevski, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; SFRY Assembly President Slobodan Gligorijevic to Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the Council of the Union, and to Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Council of Nationalities; Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, to Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers; and Andjelko Vasic, president of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, to Stepan Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

Hungary's Jeno Kovacs Meets With Ivan Brigic

LD1511022289 Budapest MTI in English 2154 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 14 (MTI)—Jeno Kovacs, member of the Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP], conferred in Yugoslavia on Tuesday [14, November] with Ivan Brigic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, about international issues of mutual concern and experience in organizing the two parties.

At his briefing to journalists in Szeged this evening, Mr Kovacs told MTI's correspondent that the international course adopted at the HSP Congress includes the pursuit of close relations with parties following a similar line. The recent visit, which served that end, was also important insofar as the HSP considers it a priority to foster relations with the socialist countries.

"As to the statement Karoly Grosz made recently on the BBC that the Hungarian Socialist Party has a one-sided international orientation and neglects its relations with the socialist countries, I note that we are cherishing close contacts with all parties and countries which have embarked on the road of reform, including the German Democratic Republic and Bulgaria. My talks with Ivan Brigic also showed that our partners appreciate our efforts, and regard the HSP as the legal successor to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in cooperation. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia follows the HSP's activity with sincere interests".

Pancevski Congratulates BCP's Mladenov

LD1511143889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1344 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Nov (TANJUG)—Milan Pancevski, president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium, has sent a greetings telegram to Petur Mladenov in connection with his election as general-secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee.

Drnovsek Congratulates PLO's 'Arafat

AU1611142089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Nov 89 p 8

[Unattributed report]

[Text] Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, has sent a telegram of congratulations to President Yasir 'Arafat on the occasion of the first anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of the State of Palestine.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Visit to Israel

LD1611120589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2128 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 15 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia has reasons to keep a political distance from Israel, including the absence of contacts between Yugoslav and Israeli officials, said Yugoslav Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vladimir Sultanovic here on Wednesday.

Speaking in the Federal Parliament and replying to questions of two delegates - one from Slovenia and the other from Macedonia - on Serbian Foreign Minister Aleksandr Prlja's current visit to Israel, Sultanovic said that the visit was in progress and the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry had no official information about its contents and results.

According to press reports from Tel Aviv, Prlja said that the leadership of the Republic of Serbia believes that Yugoslavia should restore diplomatic relations with Israel as soon as possible.

The relations between the two countries were severed when the 1967 Arab-Israeli war broke out. Prlja is on a visit to Israel at the invitation of Jews of Yugoslav origin.

LCY Central Committee Presidium Meets

LD1411232689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1826 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Nov (TANJUG)—At its session today, presided over by Milan Pancevski, the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Central Committee Presidium expressed its belief that there is no reason to declare 1 December a Yugoslav public holiday. The Presidium considered the draft code of practice on the work of the 14th LCY congress and declared that this document should contribute to the debate at the congress in order to steer it towards specific proposals for making the congress documents as qualitative as possible. In the Presidium's view, the preparations for elections to the LCY organs have been delayed. Nevertheless, in the process so far of nominating, proposing, and selecting candidates for these organs, the essence of the adopted

guidelines is being observed. The LCY Central Committee Presidium declared that the reporting by a part of the Yugoslav press is leading to a further deterioration in political relations and advocated the curbing of the propaganda war.

The following is said in the statement to the public from the session of the Presidium:

Statement for the public issued after the 165th session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium held on 14 November 1989:

At its session presided over by Milan Pancevski, the LCY Central Committee Presidium discussed the draft procedure for the work of the 14th extraordinary congress of the LCY. It was said that the document should reflect calls for more updated, more modern, and rational work at the congress, that it should give more prominence to the delegates' direct role, and that the debate at the congress should focus more on specific proposals and initiatives for producing better congress documents and, in particular, on issues of importance for the LCY's political action.

The Presidium also considered a report on preparations in the cadre sphere for the elections to LCY organs at the 14th extraordinary congress of the LCY. It cautioned that the preparations are lagging behind and noted that in the course of the procedure to nominate, propose, and elect candidates for members of LCY organs to be elected at the 14th extraordinary congress of the LCY, the criteria as set out by the LCY statute and the relevant LCY Central Committee decision are respected in general. Attention was drawn to the importance of democratic principles in the process of proposing and nominating for multicandidate lists, of putting forward young people, especially from the production sector, of the need for openness, for secret elections, and for open candidate lists.

Referring to the conduct of a section of the Yugoslav media, the Presidium noted that recently there has been an increase in some papers of negative articles about party and state officials of the republics, the provinces, and the federation. These articles contain all kinds of slander and incorrect statements and thus contribute to further deterioration in political relations, exacerbate confrontations, and are having an unfavorable effect on intranational relations and on the overall political climate during the preparations for the 14th extraordinary congress of the LCY and for the LC congresses and conferences.

In connection with this, the Presidium concluded that the Presidiums of the provincial committees and the LC should comprehensively and critically assess such situations and tendencies and carry out, in their own environments, all the political measures and activities necessary to overcome them energetically and to direct the media toward the main social problems and tasks. It was stressed that in all environments the adopted stands of the LCY Central Committee on the situation and tendencies in the media and on the obligations to stop the propaganda war, should be consistently implemented and the LCY policy be strictly worked out and implemented and the pressures and breakthroughs of nationalism, anticommunism, and all other kinds of privatization and abuse in the media should be halted.

As for the initiative set in motion in the SFRY Assembly that 1 December should be declared a Yugoslav public holiday, the Presidium stated that the initiative had given rise to justified reactions among the public and discontent and protests, particularly in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. The LCY Central Committee Presidium maintains in regard to this that there is no reason for passing such a law, as it takes into account its stands from 1987 as well the stands of the SAWP [Socialist Alliance of Working People] Federal Conference on the marking of anniversaries of significant events and individuals from the history of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities.

BORBA Publishes LCY Theses on Reform

AU1511143189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Oct 89 pp 4, 5

[Text of the Theses of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia for the Ideopolitical Activity of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the Changes to the Political System, submitted for public debate by the 28th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia held in Belgrade on 21 October: "Without a Model and to the Citizen's Liking"]

[Text] The inevitability of deep social reform in the SFRY has arisen as a result of a serious economic and political crisis, a number of wrong strategic orientations, and from the increasingly exacerbated contradictions within society to which the existing model of socialism cannot provide a suitable answer. This inevitability is stressed by the crisis in the world of socialism and also by the contradictions and trends in the modern world in general, particularly in its most developed parts. In this light, the ability to instigate changes that respond to the demands of the quicker and more successful material and spiritual development and constant expansion of the freedom of the person and the people is crucial for every system and every social community. This is a question of the present concept and practice of socialism having become outmoded and a series of key elements in our political system of socialist self-management having become outmoded and unfeasible, and also of the need for all-encompassing and deep-rooted reforms in Yugoslav society.

In the quest for a way out of the crisis, almost all the fundamental questions of Yugoslav society have been raised, including the questions of its strategic aims and historical identity. The Theses give only partial answers to many of these questions because in the preparations for the 14th Congress it is not possible to answer them completely,

but this remains the central task of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]. The League of Communists [LC] must come out onto the democratic political scene as soon as possible with these responses, as well as with its new political program. After all, this involves an epochal problem of not only our socialism.

A Radical Break With Political Monopoly

The reform of Yugoslav society that we are now approaching cannot be designed by or conducted from any political center but it will succeed only as a broad-based action and a comprehensive transformation of all socialist and democratic forces of our society.

The LC, therefore, has a new approach to the reform of the political system so that it anticipates and speeds up its own transformation and initiates, supports, and influences the general course of the reform of the political system. In the course of forthcoming changes the LC cannot act from positions of power monopoly or as the sole proponent of political truth. Only in this way will the LC be able to rid itself completely of the practice of being a state party and the party of the state. This is an essential prerequisite for ridding our social structure of the rule of political bureaucrats and working toward creating the rule of the people based on the inalienable rights of citizens.

Proceeding from this, the LCY will finalize its ideopolitical platform on the reform of the political system at the Extraordinary 14th Congress. This platform will define the LCY's basic orientations concerning the reform of the social structure and the political system and, in line with this, the concept of the new constitution. This platform must adhere to the principle of full democracy within the LCY, which particularly implies the deciding role of the members and all parts of the LCY in forming political ideas and decisions, as well as the organs' responsibility to express and represent the political will of the membership. In the process of its development, this platform will also be subject to the full influence and endorsement of the democratic public, but above all, of the political entities that are associated in the Socialist Alliance. Therefore, in the first phase, the LCY Central Committee is submitting the Theses to a public discussion. The Theses are open to all ideas and suggestions in line with the strategic political aims of the LCY.

The LCY platform on the reform of our social and state structure and the constitutional reform will represent the ideological and political orientation of the Yugoslav Communists, whose realization they will struggle for in a democratic political debate and particularly in the institutions of the system. Therefore, this cannot be the only solution that the LCY wants to impose on these institutions through the force of a political monopoly.

The LCY will struggle for a platform of political reform to be constructed in Yugoslav society which will be an act of the political will of the citizens, the workers class, all peoples and nationalities, and the republics and provinces in the SFRY. To this end the LCY advocates full freedom of initiative for our citizens and all their political and social organizations in proposing changes and the competition of global developmental orientations of a socialist character and solutions for implementing them. The work on this platform calls for a new mode of the Socialist Alliance of Working People's [SAWP] involvement which is expected to muster and link together as large a number of proposals and programs of this kind as possible and to use them as a basis for creating a Yugoslav political synthesis.

In light of this basic approach, the LCY will advocate the development and implementation of the following political orientations connected with the reform of the political system:

The Realistic Dimensions of Self-Management

1. There will be no reform of the political system unless a clear answer is provided to the basic question: What kind of socialism do we want and are capable of developing; which main goals and what kind of social order do we wish to attain? By answering this question, the LCY endeavors—by a democratic road, the persuasiveness of its ideas and arguments, socialist self-managing orientation, and political experience—to influence the character and course of our development toward a richer and more humane socialist society.

In view of this, at the present stage of our development the LC favors a socialist social system which implies the following, in particular:

—Radical reform of the socioeconomic and political system in line with the demands of a market economy, ensuring the economic and social efficiency of the system, and with the aim of allowing every person to live better, more prosperously, and more humanely;
—A guaranteed self-managing position, rights and responsibilities for workers, as self-managers and the creators of new value, in accordance with the conditions of the market economy and the pluralism of the forms of ownership;
—Providing conditions for the development of political pluralism, as the form and substance of the political organization of society;
—The reaffirmation and full realization of individual rights, freedoms, and equality of people as citizens and of their responsibilities on the principles of the law-governed state and the rule of law;
—Developing solidarity and reciprocity, as essential dimensions of the fundamental socioeconomic and political relation of our socialist society and the corresponding role of the state which will be aimed at realizing this principle;
—Scrapping the political factor's monopolistic power over the economy and society as a whole, rejecting political arbitrariness and the so-called census economy, and normativist-bureaucratic tyranny over life, which is a product of this monopoly;
—Promoting the SFRY on the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia]

principles of brotherhood and unity and affirming the equality of peoples and their republics.

This approach inevitably requires an end to the dogmatic attitude to those values of bourgeois democracy which are justifiably classified as general civilizational achievements. In this respect they do not contradict the socialist social order, but, on the contrary, without these, this order is deprived of its foothold and historical continuity in mankind's struggle for progress.

The LC is advocating clear orientations on the realistic dimensions and possibilities of self-management at the present stage of our social development so that it could use its positive political program regarding this key issue to oppose extreme attempts to reject self-management in the name of economic efficiency or even absolutize self-management as the only acceptable and completely social relation. From this point of view, there is also a need for changing the attitude to the system of the so-called integral self-management which, under the present social conditions, has become an unrealistic ideological and normative projection, a normativist concept of social relations which is no force in the face of the barrier of statist-bureaucratic power in both the economy and politics. Our social system will rest on realistic lines only if the elements of self-management are retained in the economic and political sphere and can be strengthened and expanded along with the best aspects of bourgeois democracy, including various forms of participation, that is to say, joint decisionmaking in the management of firms and elements of traditional territorial self-administration. The most crucial task is to guarantee pluralism of the forms and contents of self-management and participation and joint decisionmaking which are based on the pluralism of ownership.

The System Must Rest on Citizens' Rights and Freedoms

By resolving this key issue, we will first of all eliminate the still present illusion that self-management is only possible as an integrative social system with uniform ways of being realized, as a completely social relation, and we will rid ourselves of static views of this historical process.

It must, however, be clear that the LCY will adhere to the strategy of socialist self-management as a process of liberating labor and man. Precisely in the interest of such a strategy, the LCY must be extremely critical of all that threatens and compromises it.

2. The question of the subjects of our social and state structure, that is to say of the holders of sovereignty in exercising state power, essentially orientates the content and character of this structure and most of the provisions within it. The abandonment of monism and the collectivistic concept of socialism implies the development of a multitude of factors in our social and state system, as well as a multitude of institutionalized forms in which they appear. In light of this, our system should develop on the basis of the individuality of the citizen, as a creator, and of the nation.

In developing new socialist values, the LCY advocates that our social structure rests above all on the individuality and inalienable rights of the person as an individual, who can appear in the institutional forms of the social and state structure in different aspects of his rights, freedoms, needs, and interests. It is of utmost importance for our democratic system to ensure that it proceeds from the citizen as a free human entity and that state and social institutions are based on his inalienable rights and freedoms. These are also the foundations of so-called economic democracy and of the self-managing and national freedoms and rights of man and citizen. In this way the present ideological obfuscations will be eliminated which have been transferred into constitutional and other legal norms so that many rights have appeared from the beginning as unclear and inapplicable.

Our society must recognize man's and the citizen's personal, political, and other rights as enjoyed and safeguarded by the present-day world. To this end our legal system must considerably more specifically define and guarantee all rights and freedoms which we as a society are committed to in principle and in which regard we, as a member of the international community, have taken on the appropriate obligations in the international community. However, it is not enough just to proclaim these rights. It is necessary to also pay attention to obligations and responsibilities and also to what conditions are needed in our present social circumstances to make these rights realistic and feasible to an equal extent in every community. The LCY will work towards removing the discrepancy between the proclamation of rights and freedoms and their actual implementation in our society. The experiences of industrial civilization tell us that as the priority and most major task in this respect we must resolve those problems which arise as a result of speeded-up technical and technological development and ways of industrial and city life which undermine and degrade man's right to protect the environment.

In the context of the reform of the political system the central issue is that of political rights and freedoms, as the fundamental issue of our democracy and of our social system. Once firmly established and consistently respected, these rights and freedoms will enable each individual to assert himself as a political citizen and as a factor in political processes and a factor of state authority. To this end it is particularly important to guarantee the freedom of political association and organization in trade unions, the freedom of speech and public utterances, the freedom of the press and information, the freedom of conscience and religious belief and so on.

The objective of the reform in this sphere is to thwart the possibility of state or political and party authority operating as a bestower of rights and freedoms or even as a

force which restricts, arbitrates, or dictates their inconsistent implementation. Our system must be based on the principle which gives citizens sovereignty in realizing their rights and freedoms with the state being responsible for ensuring that their inalienable rights and freedoms are safeguarded, which implies protection for them from the organs of the wider social community. To this end it is vitally important to particularly guarantee the independence of the courts, free and democratic elections, citizens' equality before the law, and all democratic mechanisms which the citizen can use to control state authority.

With regard to workers' rights and freedoms, the LCY advocates their full affirmation and development. To this end it is necessary above all to provide a realistic concept of self-management which will proceed from the workers' objective position under the market economy and pluralism of the forms of ownership, from the development of self-management in social enterprises, and also from the development of participation in management in other enterprises and other forms of labor organization. This system will establish self-management on realistic economic and social foundations and the freedoms and rights of workers will thereby acquire realistic dimensions and a real guarantee in the system's institutions. In this regard, it is very important to define the complete position of the person in the area of labor.

The Sovereignty of Peoples Both in the Federal and Republican State

There is a special need for defining these rights from the point of view of the economic reform and the introduction, alongside the market economy, of essentially new categories and relations in production and economic life, such as the pluralism of ownership forms, private and mixed entrepreneurship, new methods of managing socially-owned property, the introduction of enterprises, and so on.

To this end it is necessary to resolve the following issues, in particular: to define workers' minimal rights which are guaranteed by our socialist society, as well as the principles on the position of workers in our system under the conditions of the pluralism of ownership forms and the market economy; to separate self-managing rights and functions from the functions and powers of management organs and capital owners; to clearly define the status of workers' councils in managing enterprises and the decisionmaking process in the social community; to provide a clearer picture of the main characteristics of socially-owned and state-owned property; to develop the totality of production relations on the basis of the pluralism of ownership forms in which, proceeding from the principle of the equality of conditions of economic activity on the basis of different forms of ownership, socially-owned property qualifies for an economically dominant position exclusively on the basis of competition and efficiency in the market; to provide the economic efficiency of self-management, and particularly all motivating elements, under conditions of the development of market competition so that it can compete with entrepreneurship on a private-ownership basis; to define the key principles of a social policy as the country's essential developmental components which characterize our socialist order; to define the main elements of people's solidarity and social security service and thereby specify the functions of federal and republican states in line with the principle of a social welfare state with the task of providing effective protection for man from the risks of so-called industrial civilization: to define the workers' rights and freedom to trade union organization in such a new way as to provide autonomy in relation to the LC and other sociopolitical organizations and partnership in relation to state and management organs with collective agreements as the means to regulate these relations. In line with this and proceeding from the fact that self-management as a social relation is not confined solely to the enterprise, the individual worker could appear as an independent entity who bases his socioeconomic and welfare rights and positions in the system on his own work and, on that basis, expresses his political individuality in assemblies.

The individuality and sovereignty of the Yugoslav peoples must be consistently implemented in both the federal and republican state.

As for the position of our peoples, the LCY advocates a AVNOJ-based, federal Yugoslavia as a genuine community of equal peoples and nationalities and a democratic community of SFRY citizens.

In forthcoming activities there is particular need for clarifying and resolving exacerbated conflicts over the question of whether national and republican individuality are over-emphasized or even absolutized at the expense of the class element and whether this has led to the confederalization of Yugoslavia, that is to say, whether national and republican sovereignty have been undermined for the benefit of the sovereignty of the federal state authority.

In the LCY's view, tendencies to over-emphasize some aspects of this issue, their exclusiveness and ideologization can be partly overcome by reaffirming citizen's and worker's individuality or their rights and freedoms and their role in all institutions of the political system. Genuine reaffirmation of the citizen and worker and expanded scope for them to express their rights and freedoms are a prerequisite and a basis for the freedom and full national equality of all the peoples and nationalities. The LCY's advocacy of the reaffirmation of the citizen's position as a factor in the political system should not mean that national interests and emancipation are ignored and suppressed but it should be viewed as their democratic and civilizational foundations. The politicization of these issues can be overcome by, among other things, promoting market-oriented economic activity, by narrowing the state's economic functions at all levels, and by encouraging new integrational processes on the basis of economic logic and interests. In

this way conditions will be created in which the national aspect will be an important but not the sole or most dominant form in which the political and other needs of people and citizens are to be expressed or satisfied.

The New Constitution—A Guarantee of the Freedom of Political Association

3. The issue of citizens' freedom of political association is the point of departure in the work on revising the constitutional position of the institutions of our democracy and, in particular, for regulating relations between the sphere of political life and the sphere of state authority.

The main orientation, advocated by the LCY, is toward providing the citizen (primarily as a citizen but also as a producer, consumer, and scientific, expert, and cultural creator and in all other aspects of his political and social needs) with as wide-ranging rights and freedoms of political association and organization as possible, particularly as this right is inevitably subject to those restrictions whose sole purpose is to safeguard the community's constitutional foundations and the equal rights and freedoms of others. This principle must be guaranteed by the SFRY Constitution as the basic legal and political act in our society. This basic stand implies that political pluralism is a "natural characteristic" of our social structure and its driving democratic force. The LC will not agree to simply reducing the issue and problems of political pluralism to the issue of a multiparty system since this is only one of the possible forms of political pluralism. This would be its own kind of developmental and not strategic problem of our democracy. A solution to this problem does not depend on us proclaiming ourselves for or against a multiparty system but on the development of a socialist democracy and the orientation of citizens and other political subjects. The struggle against one-party monopoly (in a system of either a pluralist or monist type) must be our strategic goal as it is the only way of attaining genuine democracy and of overcoming the classic multiparty system or political monism. The main problem facing our society as a result of this orientation and which must be solved by introducing reforms is the elimination of statist-bureaucratic formal and informal monopolies which are fighting any type of political or any other pluralism as if it were their sworn enemy.

In such a concept of the political organization of our society, the position of the LCY inevitably undergoes a radical change; this is a position which the LCY will particularly decide upon at the Extraordinary 14th Congress in the document on its own transformation. In a reformed political system the LCY will fight, albeit in a different way, to ensure its leading ideological and political role. This role will no longer be guaranteed by the Constitution but the LCY must fight for it as an equal political entity and affirm it. The LCY has so far had the legitimacy of the leading political organization in our society which was achieved in the revolution and the hitherto socialist construction, but now this legitimacy must be reasserted under conditions of democratic political pluralism. The LCY must view this as an option to be used in the process of democratization in the political system and not as its departure from the historical stage which is being secretly hoped for among, primarily, forces politically opposed to the socialist concept of our society.

The main feature of the LCY's transformation lies in this. This will be clear in the program for this transformation of the LCY both in the orientation for renouncing its own monopoly in exercising state power and in the orientation to use democratic means under conditions of political pluralism to influence the implementation of state power through the assembly system of rule. Not one political organization in modern democratic systems can renounce this ambition. The separation of the party and the state will signify the departure from the monistic model of society, from the so-called one party, one class, and one ideology and from bureaucratic rule generated by such a model, but it will not mean depriving a transformed LC of its democratic influence on the functioning of state authority and on the struggle to ensure that important positions in the decisionmaking process are occupied by personalities with socialist inclinations.

Proceeding from these basic orientations, the LCY advocates the kind of development of social and political organizations, associations, interest groups, and other forms of organized and informal associations which will enable these to freely form political ideas and programs which will compete with one another. The foundation of our democracy is being built and consolidated on the freedom, equality, and autonomy of political subjects, whose limits can only be the bases of our social system that are protected by the Constitution.

The freedom of and right to political association stems directly from the citizens's individual freedoms and rights in our system. This right is the sole genuine guarantee that the citizen will be allowed to exercise his democratic control of state institutions.

Freedom and autonomy for political organizations and other political entities must be accompanied by an enhanced principle and mechanism of their political responsibility for their participation in carrying out state tasks, in particular. These entities will gain their legitimacy in a democratic way and on the basis of the citizens' freely expressed political will at elections and through other direct forms of expressing opinion. Political organizations and other political entities will come forward with their proposals and programs and in this way it will be possible to see whose program will win support.

Political pluralism implies the citizens' right to organize themselves or form associations within the SAWP or outside it if they think its scope inadequate for this kind of association. Advocating this full freedom of political association, the LCY is at the same time in favor of the

SAWP's prompt and radical transformation, that is, its democratization so that within its framework the interests of citizens and their political and social organizations, organized and spontaneous political and social movements, and autonomous and equal political entities are expressed in as broad and faithful a way as possible. This will be provided in the SAWP only if it is developed as an arena for competition between all socialist democratic orientations.

Which forms of political association they opt for is the concern of the citizens alone and of their political orientations. In our conditions it is not necessary literally to reproduce models of party political organizations which even in bourgeois democracies are becoming increasingly inadequate and deficient and in addition to which various interest groups, alternative and similar movements have been gaining ground. The LC favors incorporating the best values and aspects of a multiparty model into political processes and the functioning of state authority, but at the same time it will attempt radically to eliminate the roots of political monopoly and manipulations with people's will so apparent in the struggle for power among various parties, depending on the established elements of our self-managing democracy, primarily with regard to the already affirmed ways in which citizens and workers directly participate in political life and decisionmaking. The LCY's aim is to go much further than bourgeois political democracy. This is possible only if socialism takes on board its achievements and progressive elements, including the tendencies in the most developed modern democracies for citizens to rally in an organized or spontaneous way around their interests even outside political parties. Only then will it be able to build on these elements by liberating workers and citizens from any enslavement or alienation.

To Separate the State From the Civil Society

4. The LCY will work for a prompt and radical transformation of the party state into a modern and efficient one based on the principles of a law-governed state and the rule of law. It is essential to replace voluntarism with the rule of the Constitution and the law as an expression of the political will of citizens, producers, and the equal peoples and nationalities of a federal Yugoslavia. The state must function exclusively in line with the Constitution and the law. Its functions in the legal system must be defined in precise terms and should be restricted to safeguarding rights and freedoms and the principle of legal equality before the law and the legal security of both the person as an individual or citizen and all economic entities under conditions of the market economy; encouraging and directing social and economic development, the program of social welfare, social security, and socialist solidarity, and safeguarding the constitutionally-established fundamental principles of our socialist social system.

In view of this basic orientation, reform of the state system must ensure the following:

—That a clear demarcation line must be drawn between the sphere of state authority (the state's necessary functions) and the sphere of so-called civil society, that is, a free self-management-based civilian life which the state must in no way restrict but has the duty to protect and guarantee;

—That a more consistent division of power to legislative, executive, and judicial branches is carried out which would ensure that the assemblies are judicial bodies which make the most important decisions and carry out a democratic and political check on and supervision of the executive and administrative organs;

—That special attention is paid to and guarantees provided for the independence and autonomy of judicial offices and that the system of appointing judges, their mandates, and financing of courts is readjusted;

—That the maximum degree of independence, efficiency, rationality, and responsibility of all state organs is ensured, that the professional mechanism is reduced to the most rational minimum, and that their activity is carried out strictly within the bounds of their constitutional powers under the control of assemblies and of the democratic public;

—That the way each sociopolitical community fulfills its right to carry out its documents is examined and established.

—That the possibility of providing citizens with the right of directly expressing their views about the most important social and political issues through a referendum is examined.

The LCY advocates that the present regulativist and autarkic concept of the communal system should be superseded and transformed into local self-management, ridding itself of the characteristics of a state structure which lead to the disintegration of the economic, political, and cultural life into bureaucratism and political voluntarism. In this capacity, the commune should above all be an instrument through which citizens will satisfy their basic needs in the areas of housing, children's education and upbringing, sport and leisure, culture, self-defense, environmental protection, and so on in a democratic way. This concept implies that the Constitution will only establish the principles for organizing the communes and that the rest will be left in part to legal regulations but mainly to the self-organization and self-managing initiative of the citizens themselves. This allows the present statist-bureaucratic ossification and uniformity of communes to be demolished and facilitates a diversity of forms and content, which is needed in practice, and also allows the process of the free joining together and associating of communes and of certain functions that are of common interest.

5. The Assembly and electoral system will inevitably undergo deep-seated changes with the reform as well. Many difficulties in the functioning of the assembly system have arisen because of the absolutization of the delegate system and its dogmatic interpretation and application, instead of a rational combination of the

representative-deputies and delegate principle. Therefore, a radical reform of the assembly system is needed so that it becomes a fundamental institution of our democratic state and social structure.

Proceeding from the basic problems of the assembly system, essential measures should be directed toward resolving the following issues:

—To precisely define the jurisdiction of the assemblies of the republics and of the provinces and of the SFRY Assembly, as organs of judicial authority and control of the executive state powers and as organs which establish the basic policy of society;
—To reexamine the concept of the functions of the assemblies as self-management organs of our sociopolitical community;
—To abolish sociopolitical chambers;
—To re-examine the expediency of the institution of the presidencies of the republics and provinces and establish whether this subject matter should be regulated by Federal Constitution at all;
—To resolve the dilemma over whether the structure of the assemblies of the republics and provinces should be regulated in a uniform manner, particularly regarding establishing a bicameral structure for these assemblies with a chamber of citizens and a labor chamber or a single-chamber structure with only a citizens' chamber;
—To define the basic principles of self-management at local level and of the setting up of the organs of this kind of self- management in the municipalities.

Regarding the structure of the SFRY Assembly, the proposals to set up two chambers—the Chamber of the Citizens and the Chamber of Federal Units—which will function upon the following principles are not in dispute:

—To introduce, as a rule, the principle of bicameral decisionmaking in the work of the SFRY Assembly.
—In the Chamber of Federal Units, the decisions are taken on the basis of consent given by Federal Units only on issues which are of vital interest for the nations, that is, federal units. The dilemma is open whether in these issues the single-chamber decisionmaking in this Chamber will be retained.

At the same time the following outstanding issues have to be resolved:

—Whether the Federal Chamber (the Chamber of the Citizens) is elected on the principle of proportional representation in its pure form, or, in accordance with that principle, with the appropriate adjustment whereby the minimum representation of each republic is ensured;
—Whether a Chamber of Labor should be introduced into the structure of the SFRY Assembly as a third chamber.

With the reform, the electoral system will inevitably undergo deep changes because numerous dilemmas in society come to a head over elections, particularly with regard to the pluralist character and content of our democracy and the needs for developing the competition of political ideas and programs in the nomination and electoral process.

In light of this, these problems in particular will have to be resolved in our electoral system:

a) to ensure respect for the democratic principle of general and equal electoral rights of the citizens;

b) to introduce free, direct, and secret elections with several candidates, and in line with this, democratize the nomination process and define the role of the Socialist Alliance and other organizations and entities in this process;

c) to define the term of office of the deputies, or delegates and their relationship toward their electoral bases and the question of recall.

The Federation Remains the Lasting Basis

6. The federal and socialist social system remains the lasting basis of the Yugoslav community. The essence of the reform of our federation lies in its radical democratization which also resolves the question of the democratization of interethnic relations, in conformity with our overall economic and political democratization, and also in intensifying substantially the efficiency of the federal state on this basis and in its functions which are accurately defined by its Constitution. The LC is advocating the idea that in order to achieve this the federation should be deprived of the functions that are fulfilled in a market economy by the economic factors working in accordance with economic logic, and to establish the economic functions of the federal state and its interventions, which primarily concern the single Yugoslav market and the equality of economic factors in it; the establishment and protection of the basic freedoms and rights of the SFRY citizens whereby the degree of these freedoms and their protection confirmed by international legal acts must not be reduced but increased; the protection of the territorial integrity and constitutional setup of the SFRY, the further development and implementation of the unified system of all-people's defense the backbone of which is the Yugoslav People's Army as a joint armed force of all our peoples and nationalities; the establishment and implementation of the SFRY's foreign policy, and the insuring and guaranteeing of the equality of our nations and nationalities and their inalienable rights and freedoms in keeping with the authentic principles of our federalism and socialism. This kind of consolidation of the efficiency of a modern federation for the LCY does not signify the consolidation of unitarism and centralism, just as the independence and the efficiency of the republics, which are an integral part of the federal constitutional system, for the LC did not signify separatism and polycentric statism. This, on the contrary, should be to the advantage of strengthening the Yugoslav community, providing the free and successful development of every people and

every federal unit on the bases of their responsibility, not only for their own development but also for the development of the community.

The objective of the reform is that by eliminating statist-bureaucratic deformations and overcoming the social contradictions in our development, the federation should thus develop as a democratic community of free and equal peoples and nationalities, their republics and provinces, and of working people and citizens. Proceeding from that, the LCY will advocate the idea that the new constitution should lay down clear and realistic principles of our federalism which leave no scope for political voluntarism. Proceeding from the principle that a republican constitution cannot be at odds with the federal Constitution, the constitutional and legal procedure must be established for resolving any possible contradictions between the republican and federal constitutions. The question of the inclusion and the representation of the provinces, which do not possess the characteristics particular to the republics, in the federation must be resolved within the framework of the constitutional reform, as well.

The role, the method of election, and the responsibilities of the SFRY Presidency and its relationship toward the SFRY Assembly must also be re-examined.

7. The concept of the new constitution emanates directly from our commitment concerning the political reform and the principles of our social and state system.

In order to attain this, the LCY advocates:

—A constitution of our socialist society which more consistently expresses and guarantees the status, rights, and freedoms of our citizens and working people, their free political association and full national equality, and the principles of a modern efficient state based on the principles of the rule of law and of its social function, as well;

—A constitution which in a clear, concise, consistent, and more modern way will express the political and the legal framework of Yugoslav society and its state, but which in so doing will present itself as a basic legal act that will be realistic and applicable in all its elements, rather than as a program of political vision or an ideological declaration, as a general code of legal rights and behavior in Yugoslavia which will make possible the full creative freedom of the person and their desires;

—A constitution which, in addition to the principles and institutions of the system, will define in advance the democratic rules of the game for all subjects in the sphere of political power and state organization, thereby preventing political voluntarism, and subordinating the state and its functions to the law;

—A constitution which will be an expression of radical deregulation and will free our economic and social life of statist regulativism, so that it will not itself enter into a normative analysis which is greater than that which is characteristic of other states with a market economy, nor will it insist on a duty to legal and self-managing norms in places where self-initiative and the freedom of economic and self-managing entities is essential;

—The reconstruction of our basic constitutional principles (regardless of how they will be built legally and technically into the Constitution—whether in a special introductory section or integrated into the appropriate chapter) so that they will express in a lucid and unequivocal way the basic principles and objectives of our social system.

Increase of Radioactivity Over Belgrade Denied

AU1411180089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Excerpts] A little Chernobyl did not happen over Belgrade and Kladovo in August. This was the reply by the Serbian Executive Council to a delegate's question asked by Jelka Miljkovic at the session of the chambers of the Serbian Assembly today. At a joint session of the three chambers, the amendments to the Constitutional Law for implementing the republican constitutional amendments were promulgated. Olivera Rusovac reports:

[passage omitted] Concerning the delegate's question asked by Jelka Miljkovic about air pollution over Belgrade and Kladovo in the second half of August, a discussion will be held at the end of the month.

A reply by the republican government submitted to the session today asserts that it was not true that a little Chernobyl occurred at that time. Systematic measurements confirm that there was no reason to take any extraordinary measures. There is no nuclear plant on the Romanian side, except for a heavy water plant that should be treated like any other chemical plant. Concerning the assertion that along with ore, the Bor Copper Smelter illegally imports radioactive waste, analyses confirm that the radioactivity was within normal limits.

The Executive Council insists that Vinca should establish who was responsible for the shortcomings in the analysis on which Jelka Miljkovic based her question.

Dissatisfied with the reply by the republican Executive Council, Miljkovic said that she had erred initially, because the radioactivity was much greater than the amount she had stated at that time. It was concluded that this question, about which opposing views were heard today, should be discussed at the next session of the assembly on 24 November.

Delegate Milorad Mrkaljic assessed that such questions as asked by Miljkovic destabilize the political situation in Serbia, that the prestige of the Bor collective is being undermined, and that the procedure of delegates' questions is being misused. Dragic Vukosavljevic supported the democratic right that delegates' questions should be asked with impunity.

Let us also add that the Associated Labor Chamber decided by a vote that Serbia should not finance the second edition of the Yugoslav Encyclopedia published by Leksikografski Zavod of Zagreb. We recall that this question was raised some time ago by delegate [name indistinct].

Drnovsek Visits Sarajevo, Discusses Constitution

LD1611050189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1627 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] November 15 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav State Presidency will in ten days or so get from a group of experts proposals of possible solutions to be offered in the country's new constitution, will discuss them and then forward them to the Assembly of Yugoslavia, as Yugoslav State Presidency President Dr Janez Drnovsek said today.

In a talk with the highest officials of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina in Sarajevo, Drnovsek expressed the opinion that the adoption of a new constitution would be a sign that "we have left behind us a difficult period and can (on the basis of the new constitution) continue to live together."

Drnovsek called for "tolerance and creative composure" in the discussion on the new constitution and set out that differences which exist between the individual Yugoslav republics and provinces are far smaller than believed in public when changes in the country's political system and socio-economic relations are involved.

Yugoslav State Presidency President Dr Janez Drnovsek maintains that Yugsolavia needs some kind of political pluralism, since, as he said, "the influence of any [word indistinct] on politics would be negative unless subject to public control." In that context, Drnovsek singled out human rights as of the most important aspects of the new constitution.

Setting out that major efforts are ill needed to calm the situation in the province of Kosovo, Drnovsek said that problems in that province, just as anywhere else in the world, cannot be resolved by repressive means. He specified, however, that the Yugoslav State has intervened and will continue to intervene, just as all states do, when violence and attacks on the country's social order take place and when the country's sovereinty is threatened.

Yugoslav State Presidency President Dr Janez Drnovsek said that the Federal Government was preparing a special programme for the suppression of inflation and expressed the conviction that "a gradual lowering of the inflation will take place in the first half of next year. "The annual inflation rate in Yugoslavia is currently estimated at around 1,500 percent.

Speaking about a switch to a market-oriented economy, Drnovsek described as "excessive" the opinions according to which the transition phase will lead to high unemployment and other social problems.

Drnovsek said that changes in Yugoslavia should keep step with the new economic system which is being built in Europe and the world and observed that Yugsolavia, itself, is "now in the process of creating conditions to join international associations."

Drnovsek Interviewed After Visit

LD1611113689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1431 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 15 Nov (TANJUG)—At the session of the SFRY Presidency last week we agreed to jointly embark on an action of reciprocal visits. This was stated by SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek at the close of his 2-day visit to Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Our state Presidency will get involved in order to put into action a process of easing tensions in the country and of constructive negotiation, Dr Janez Drnovsek told TANJUG editor Dubravko Curac. The SFRY Presidency President expects the information media to join in this by reducing the media war. The visit was very interesting and I believe that it has been useful. Today we had talks in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency on the general political situation in the country and economic problems, particularly inflation. We exchanged views on these issues.

Also of interest was the visit to UNIS [conglomerate of manufacturing, export-import and transportation organizations]. My first comment is that there is a large degree of similarity in approach on the part of businessmen no matter where we talk to them, whether in Serbia, or Slovenia, or Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Asked whether visits of the leaderships of the republics and provinces to each other would follow, Drnovsek replied: "Of course. This visit of mine is within that context. At the joint session of the Presidency last week with the presidents of the republican presidencies, we agreed to jointly embark on such an action of reciprocal visits and talks. Our state Presidency will get involved in order to put into action a process of easing the tensions in the country and of constructive negotiation. I believe that this is an essential condition for all more important tasks now facing us and for reducing inflation and adopting a new Constitution, and within that framework for talks on new solutions both for the political system, for future activities including the improvment of the economic system, and for everything else.

"We have approached this action responsibility. I hope that the public information media will also support this action, so that we see a reduction in what I would call the media war which has long been present throughout our country. I believe that we should all recognise that there is no alternative other than moving away from these quarrels towards a tolerant and constructive dialogue on

all open issues and without going into it with preconceived qualifications or disqualifications of any ideas or proposals, but rather negotiating with the honest intention of jointly finding a way out of the crisis," SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek told the TANJUG editor.

Security Report on Persecution of Serbs in Bosnia

AU1611083589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Oct 89 p 5

["Text" of report by the Serbian State Security Service on the emigration of the Serbian population from the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina: "The Crucial Pressure of Fundamentalists"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 25 Oct—The first Yugoslav tabloid AS in its 27 October edition, which has already been issued, carries in the column "Dossiers" the strictly confidential text of the report issued by the Serbian Security Service on 24 August 1989 on the phenomenon of the emigration of the Serbian population from the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. BORBA is publishing the whole of the text of this report as carried by AS. It says:

According to certain findings by the Serbian State Security Service, that is the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Serbia, the process of the emigration of members of the Serbian nationality from the communes of Bratunac and Srebrenica (of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina), the area bordering on Bajina Basta, has been going on for several years. Along with the difficult economic situation because of the lack of development in this region and the poor opportunities for employment, schooling, and so on, Serbs stress various forms of direct pressure that they have suffered for years at the hands of Muslim nationalists as a significant and crucial element in the decision to emigrate. The interethnic relations that have been exacerbated as far as open intolerance are being aggravated even more by the policy of Muslim fundamentalists which comes to the fore in certain collectives where nepotism and family connections play a crucial role in cadre policy.

Certain ethnic Serbian leading workers adapt their behavior in order to advance and maintain their posts (although they are politically subordinate to the bureaucratic leadership of the other nationality) by attacking Serbian nationalism and declaring themselves opponents of the policy of the Socialist Republic of Serbia (like Miloje Simic, president of the Communal Committee of the League of Communists of Srebrenica).

In the general Muslim nationalist atmosphere, certain villages (Bosanska Crkvica, the village bordering on Bajina Basta), which are exclusively inhabited by members of the Serbian nationality, have been particularly hit. Even though, when the villages were urbanized a tarmac road was built they are avoided and are not connected to Post Office and other lines, while at the same time Muslim villages in hilly and inaccessible terrain are linked by tarmac roads, are connected to telephone lines, and so on.

One of the "phenomena" in this region of Bosnia is that the whole of social life is directed, crucially influenced, and spread by the old bey families who proved themselves during the war in the Ustasha movement. They are in close ideological contact with the Muslim Religious Community and are more and more intensively establishing a power apparatus that is closer to the original forms of Islamic rule. (A specific example is Nedzad Selmanagic, head of the department for the economy in Srebrenica, who has had an essential influence on the social, political, and economic identity of this region for 20 years. He is a member of the Muslim fund, or mosque, committee and is fundamentalist in his ideas. Among other things, he is carrying out "a purge of the Serbian inhabitants from this region.")

The more obvious Islamization of this area is reflected in the construction of buildings, the opening of Muslim religious schools and new mosques, and so on. The spread of fundamentalism in this orthodox form was brought from Cairo by Ahmet Smajilovic, a member of the Muslim religious leadership and member of all the larger mosque committees in Europe and the world (he studied in Cairo, he was an elder in the Muslim secondary school in Sarajevo, and is undoubtedly a much-admired and prominent personality in the area).

Considering that sociopolitical authority is weakening in the institutions of the system in this area, fundamentalists are slowly but surely implementing their strategy.

This development of social circumstances has a direct influence on the emigration of Serbs; the national rift is widening in collectives (specifically in Skelani where there is a complete division in the tin can factory and demands are being launched for separate canteens, separate sections, and such like). There have been ideas of national exclusivity and total separation in which the already realized ideas of fundamentalism which is manifesting its aggressive components can be obviously recognized. Cases of attacks on ethnic Serbian girls have been registered, as well as cases of the humiliation and mistreatment of people wearing caps and traditional Serbian caps, and Serbian priests and prominent individuals have been attacked.

More recently, anti-Serbian feeling has become very pronounced in this region. In contrast to this, in certain nationalist circles, to Albanian separatists and policy that the Socialist Republic of Croatia advocates. [sentence as published] This is a question of religious compatibility despite the political specificity and essence of Albanian separatism.

One of the indicators of fundamentalism (the spread of the Muslim core and the creation of new opportunities) is also the promotion of the idea and the attempts to build a mosque in Bajina Basta. Although there have been obvious individual attempts in this direction by the

most extreme section of the Muslim population, others are also being subject to refined indoctrination which has an ethnically pure region as its permanent goal.

Zagreb Lists Candidates for Slovene LC President

LD1611180289 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] According to a TANJUG report six candidates have so far been registered for the office of the President of the Slovene League of Communists Central Committee Presidium. In addition to the present incumbent Milan Kucan, the following have also been nominated for the top office: Stefan Korosec, Sonja Lokar, Franc Pivec, Milos Prosenc and Ciril Ribicic.

Slovene LC Chief on Elections, Role of Army

AU1611092389 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 15 Nov 89 p 3

[Interview with Milan Kucan, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Slovenia, by Maren Koester-Hetzendorf in Ljubljana: "No Room for Tanks in Socialism"—date not given]

[Excerpts] DIE PRESSE: There are serious differences of opinion between Serbia and Slovenia. You once said that if one fails to find a common language one must split up.

Kucan: To me it is a crucial question whether Yugoslavia is ready to establish a democratic dialogue. The other republics will of course also have a say in this question, and not just Serbia and Slovenia. All citizens must be heard. In short, the SFRY's perspective is most closely linked with the perspective of democracy. As an optimist, I also perceive positive chances for the democratization of the SFRY. [passage omitted]

DIE PRESSE: Do you start from the assumption that the Slovene party will under no circumstances break away from the federal party?

Kucan: We believe that we must influence the programmatic direction of the Yugoslav party with all available means. The 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will not be useless if it offers the possibility of a democratic synthesis of all proposals made by the individual republics. However, if it is not possible to agree on the program, there will no longer be any reason to stay within the federal party. [passage omitted]

DIE PRESSE: Elections are scheduled to take place in Slovenia in the spring. For the first time several parties will be permitted. If your party were not to win the elections, would you go into opposition or form a coalition with another party?

Kucan: In my view we have never aspired to be the only power. I believe socialism cannot be the objective of and in the interest of a single party, or in the interest of just a few people who are called communists. [passage omitted]

DIE PRESSE: Let us assume the socialist option is rejected in the elections. Will this be a signal for the army? The SFRY defense minister recently said that the army would do everything to prevent the abolition of socialism in the SFRY.

Kucan: It is virtually impossible to use the army against one of the peoples of Yugoslavia. Neither can it be activated as a consequence of a course of action that is consistent with the SFRY Constitution or with the constitutions of the republics. I am convinced that the army can be used only in line with the principles of the SFRY Constitution, namely in the case of an aggression from outside, and against a forceful change of the constitutional order in the state, that is to say against an undemocratic change of the Constitution. It is of course impossible to consider elections a forceful change of the constitutional order. The elections will be carried out on the basis of the Slovene Constitution. I have the feeling that in the discussions within the SFRY too much emphasis has been put on the army factor, and that there is too much speculation. I am convinced that this is not in the interest of the army. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Serbs Stage Protest Rallies in Podujevo

Demand Protection for Children

AU1411200689 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] About 400 members of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality held a protest meeting in the hall of the Podujeve Commune Assembly. The meeting lasted until 1830 GMT. They asked for guarantees for the personal security of their children. It was stated at the meeting that about 200 pupils of Serb and Montenegrin nationality had failed to attend classes during the past 12 days for fear of being attacked by Albanian nationalists and separatists.

The participants in the meeting, which was also attended by some members of the Albanian nationality, demanded the resignation of communal leaders and the consistent implementation of ideopolitical differentiation.

Urosevac Rally Staged

AU1511215089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] A protest meeting of Serbs and Montenegrins was held in Urosevac this evening. Our Pristina correspondent Milivoj Mihajlovic reports:

A protest rally of about 500 Serbs and Montenegrins was held in Urosevac this evening. The reason for the meeting was their dissatisfaction because of the recent attack on their fellow citizen, Vladimir Milovanovic, whose attackers have not been found yet.

Speakers at the rostrum repeatedly drew attention to the fact that the latest demonstrations by Albanian separatists have increased the uncertainty among the Serbian

and Montenegrin people in Urosevac. They also protested at the support which, it was alleged, some leaders in Croatia and Slovenia extend to the Albanian separatists. Resistance to ideological and work differentiation was pointed out. Some responsible officials perfidiously applaud the new policy in Kosovo but continue in their old ways.

It was said that the state should solve the problem of Kosovo and should use for this purpose all of the constitutional legal means available. To settle the situation in the province, one should use the therapy indicated by the situation and not by the state of relations in disunited Yugoslavia, it was said at the protest meeting of Serbs and Montenegrins in Urosevac. The meeting extended support to the newly elected leadership of Kosovo and to the plebiscite-like support for Slobodan Milosevic to be elected president of the Presidency of Serbia.

Kosovo Serbs Prepare Meeting in Ljubljana

AU1411214589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] We are coming to see whether the Slovene people support us. We will demand that these people, who are brotherly and close us, should finally take a stand on the policy of its leadership, a statement by the Committee of the Association for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo says. The committee has begun its final preparations for the mass participation in the meeting of solidarity and truth in Ljubljana on 1 December.

Association on Meeting

AU1511125689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Nov 89 p 14

[M. A. report: "We Are Going To Visit the People"]

[Text] Pristina, 9 Nov—Since the proposal made by the Association for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo and Metohija to hold a meeting in Ljubljana on 1 December was turned down, the Association today sent an open letter to the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Slovenia. The letter reads as follows:

"Immediately and without hesitation, the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia has rejected as unacceptable the proposal to hold the meeting of Serbs and Montenegrins in Ljubljana on 1 December, whereby it has created complete confusion. The Socialist Alliance of Slovenia has made it possible for Albanian 'Marxist-Leninists' and Ballists who perpetrate genocide against us to hold demonstrations in Ljubljana, but it has forbidden the Serb and Montenegrin victims of this genocide to tell the Slovene people and the world directly about it.

"The Socialist Alliance of Slovenia should use these facts to see into the character of its organization and the sincerity of the democratic principles it has been boasting about.

"The date of the meeting has been recognized by all democratic countries in Europe and the world, and guaranteed by all allies in the Great War. So the reason why the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia considers 1 December, the historic date of its statehood, freedom, and progress, to be a political provocation can only be understood and recognized from the point of view of the consciousness of the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the Komintern's views of Yugoslavia, something that seriously compromises the Slovene people in the eyes of democratic Europe.

"The 'train of exiles,' the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and Metohija, is not going to visit the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia, but the Slovene people, just as the 'trains of exiles,' the Slovenes exiled in 1941, did not go to the Socialist Alliance of Serbia, but to the Serbian people. The Serbs did not worry then about what the fascists would think about this. Therefore, we are certain that the Slovenes will not be worried by the presence of Ballists and "Marxist-Leninists" and their allies when they offer shelter to exiled Serbs today.

"Therefore, this meeting in support of the new defense from Albanian fascism today is only a question of the Serbian and Slovene people saving face. Many people of good will and the antifascists from Vojvodina, Dalmatian Kosovo, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Montenegro, as well as Slovenes living in Serbia have already sent us messages expressing support and their resoluteness to go to Ljubljana on 1 December and personally call on the fraternal Slovene people to resist Albanian fascists and those who help them."

The letter is signed by the Presidium of the Association.

Albanian Demonstrators Sentenced, Some Imprisoned

AU1411144189 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 8 Nov 89 p 12

[A. Muhaxheri report: "138 Persons Sentenced for Demonstrating"]

[Excerpt] Albanian nationalist and separatist demonstrations were held between 30 October and 5 November in Pristina, Podujevo, Urosevac, Lipljan, Suva Reka, and Srbica. Familiar slogans from the Albanian nationalists' arsenal predominated. Members of the security organs responded effectively to disperse the demonstrators.

We talked yesterday about these events to Zlatko Skripac, president of the Kosovo Higher Magistrate's Court, and Baki Krasniqi, president of the Pristina Communal Magistrate's Court. Zlatko Skripac said that up until now the security organs had filed 171 charges of misdemeanors. Of course, the courts responded at once to solve the cases. One hundred and thirty-eight persons have been sentenced for demonstrating. Most demonstrators were young, including high school pupils, and a small number of students, unemployed people, and minors. As of 6 November, Skripac said, in the abovementioned communes, 61 accused have been sentenced

to 60 days imprisonment each, 7 persons to 50 days, 3 persons to 40 days, 16 to 30 days, and 1 person to 20 days, while 23 minors have been sentenced to 15 days imprisonment. Meanwhile, rehabilitation measures under the care of their parents or other guardians were taken against five minors. He said that 14 of the accused were brought before Pristina Communal Court yesterday, 11 of whom were sentenced to 60 days imprisonment each, while court proceedings against three of the accused were suspended. The accused were pronounced guilty following their participation in the demonstrations in the streets of Pristina on 5 November.

Baki Krasniqi, president of the Pristina Communal Magistrate's Court, reported that as of yesterday 84 persons had been brought before the court. The trials were effective, and the cases were decided immediately. Of the accused, 52 were sentenced to 60 days imprisonment each for breaches of public order. They were sent to serve their sentences at once. In the absence of evidence, Krasniqi said, court proceedings against 11 adults and eight minors were suspended. [passage omitted]

VJESNIK Views Vlasi's 'Staged Trial'

AU1511104389 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 31 Oct 89 p 1

[Jadranko Sinkovic commentary: "Political Trial"]

[Text] It seems that every era has its own kind of "Bomb Trial." [referring to trial in Montenegro in 1908 of students who tried to overthrow Duke Nikola with the help of bombs imported from Serbia] Thus, the trial of Azem Vlasi, Abrasi, and the others threatens to turn into the strongest indictment to date (even on an international scale!) of a policy that can no longer be simply identified as the policy of the Serbian leadership. What is involved is no longer the reckoning that any other solution apart from the trial (and, according to the same logic, probably punishment, too) of Azem Vlasi is an insult to the Serbian and Montenegrin people. The way in which the arrest was carried out and the investigation and the trial itself were conducted is typical of the very type of staged political trials that the public at home and in the world harshly condemn.

A public political and legal assessment of all known facts in the trial would be the only democratic solution, because that is the best way to successfully prevent the manipulation of public (mostly Serbian) opinion. It is in this very democratic political and legal context that one should view the recently increasing demands for abrogating the criminal prosecution of Vlasi and the others. These demands no longer involve only protest over the trying of these people for having committed a so-called verbal offense, with which they helped "counterrevolutionary activity leading to the undermining.... etc."

As a section of the Belgrade press informed the public on Sunday, the demand for abrogation had also been initiated officially at the SFRY Presidency itself, the political body with the strongest legal (and political) prerogatives in this case. The demand was initiated by SFRY Presidency member Dr Stipe Suvar, as president of the Presidency's Amnesty Commission, and Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the Presidency. However, the vote on these proposals did not end—as unofficial reports in the Belgrade press suggest—with the score of six to two against the holding of a debate on the case. We have learned unofficially that the vote concluded with a draw—four votes for and four against the proposal. It seems that the Presidency will have to discuss the issue again.

These facts have exceptional political weight. This is not only because the proposal on abrogating criminal charges was made by the president of the said commission, nor because he was the first Croatian politician to demand this officially (it is known that at the latest session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, delegates from the League of Communists of Croatia did not vote for a debate on abrogation). Suvar's initiative has so far been the strongest accusation (with the biggest political weight) against those political forces that had gone into the arrests, investigation, and trials that set Yugoslavia in a democratic pillory. Because Suvar himself is one of the direct participants in the February events who are very much acquainted with the essence of these events. After all, the indictment mentions him (as a witness?) as the man who almost talked the miners into leaving the Stari Trg pit, but Vlasi then allegedly "spoiled" everything for "counterrevolutionary reasons."

This is why Suvar's statement is in fact a political statement about the indictment. An evaluation has obviously been made of the political consequences of both the abrogation and the trial's continuing. These will be consequences both for Serbia itself (in trying to find optimum solutions for interethnic relations there) and for Yugoslavia, whose positions (its reformist democratic orientation) can become a great uncertainty in the world.

Because of all that, the trial of Vlasi and the others has unfortunately become the central political event in Yugoslavia, one of those historic events that can change political currents in Yugoslavia. Because, if it agrees to such a criminal trial, Yugoslavia can no longer dissociate itself from the policy of the Serbian leadership, and that will dissociate this country from the world.

Causes, Consequences of Kosovo Policy Examined

AU1611085589 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 7 Nov 89 p 5

[Boris Jez commentary: "The Causes and Consequences of a Kosovo Policy"]

[Text] The departure of a fresh group of Slovene militiamen to Kosovo imposes a number of questions about our share in the bloody Kosovo drama. It is true that the group is part of the so-called federal units and only "covers the back" of the special units that directly battle with the demonstrators, but this is poor consolation. It is a fact that with its forces (including soldiers, money, and

so forth) Slovenia is participating in giving "internationalist aid," for which no praise will be found in history.

The problem is, of course, above all moral in nature, but in addition to its ethical dimension, it also has many practical political dimensions which should make authorities think twice before they continue meekly to obey orders from Belgrade. By sending its men to Kosovo, Slovenia certainly recognizes in an indirect way the legitimacy of such police and military steps in its own territory, too. The whole thing is also problematic in light of the amendments that were recently adopted; these empower the Slovene Assembly alone to proclaim a so-called state of emergency, but in Kosovo, Slovenia actually participates in maintaining the imposed state of siege.

We should indeed be thoroughly self-critical and recognize that it is not merely a matter of maintaining the state of emergency, because we were also directly involved in the very act of proclaiming it. The Slovene delegates voted (so to speak against the will of the people) in favor of the measure, and nobody has thought of calling them to account for this. This black mark will have to be borne in mind if the Slovene Assembly takes into account the demands of the youth congress and perhaps indeed proposes to the state Presidency that the emergency measures in Kosovo should be lifted.

The demands by the youth congress in connection with the events in Kosovo should at least serve as a warning to the Slovene political "operators" that they are too insipid, mediocre, and even contradictory. It seems that some Slovene politicians still live with the conviction that it will be possible to deal with the situation in the country through some sort of compact with Serbia, although the development of events has long rejected such a possibility. It is a fact that the official Serbian policy has shown all its cards precisely in Kosovo, and in addition it managed to be excused by all of Yugoslavia. While in the case of the Slovene amendments it showed that it recognizes only limited sovereignty to other peoples, it made it known in Kosovo that it considers the problem of human rights in its very own, "limited" way. The irony is that some time ago, it was precisely Serbia that was most against the formula Kosovo-republic, because Kosovo would in that case get the opportunity to secede; and it is precisely in Serbia now that drums are beaten about citizen and citizen's rights, which in the context of the Kosovo events may be just a clever game intended to gloss over Serbia's more than "strange" national policy.

There are more and more indications that the Serbian policy does not operate according to some pre-set scenario, but that from the very beginning it has been merely opportunistically expanding regardless of the cost (although we do not deny the other "truths" of the Kosovo reality). In any case it has succeeded in promptly presenting the bills to the federal community, and Slovenia is the most eager in settling these bills. It is obvious that Slovenia has allowed itself to be led into a game played by others, and with its relatively passive attitude it has been doing itself great moral, economic, and political harm.

It is time for the republican assembly finally to renounce all forms of "internationalist aid" and at the same time demand that the truth should be revealed about the way the Federal Assembly gave its blessing to the state of emergency in Kosovo. Lazar Mojsov, president of the Presidency at that time, waved some "staff document" of the irredentists, which was supposed to have been the key evidence showing that counterrevolution was under preparation; Stane Dolanc, at that time president of the Council for the Protection of the Constitutional System, however, did not know anything about any such document. In short, it would be good if the public were finally told the full story, but all of those who were directly involved at the time (the delegates of course never saw the document) keep silent and thus, whether they like it or not, breed rumors that they cheated the assembly and the whole state with a fabricated document.

Under the circumstances when doubts are cast on everything that has been done in connection with Kosovo, the republican assembly, the Presidency, and other institutions of the authorities have certainly every right to rethink their present policy of "meek obedience" to Belgrade. Of course we are not instigating the institutions, to which the principle of legality must be sacrosanct, to "institutional disobedience," but Slovenia as a state certainly has enough opportunities available to step out of the game which is neither moral nor legitimate, and probably also not quite legal. The position in which Slovenia must pay for the police therapy of Kosovo "counterrevolution" in help with its men, while it only helplessly curses or moans, could after all be a prelude to its own drama, when even curses will no longer be possible.

Former Kosovo Presidium Member Indicted

LD1611123189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1744 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Gnjilane, 15 Nov (TANJUG)—The district public prosecutor in Gnjilane, Dragan Mihajlovic, brought criminal charges against Ekrem Arifi, former member of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium, for the criminal act of instigating national, racial, and religious hatred, divisions, or intolerance under Article 134, Paragraph Three, in connection with Paragraph One of the Yugoslav Penal Code. The indictment was forwarded to the district court in Gnjilane, where the main hearing against Arifi will be held.

Pristina SAWP Elects New President Osmani

LD1611131889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1558 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Summary] Pristina, 15 Nov (TANJUG)—The delegates of the Pristina Socialist Alliance of Working People municipal conference today elected Arif Osmani as their new president.

MLADINA To Be Prosecuted for Leader Attacks

AU1611213589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] The Federal Public Prosecutor has been informed that the public prosecutor in Ljubljana has taken measures to start criminal proceedings against persons responsible for the articles and drawing that were recently published in MLADINA. In its issues of 29 October and 10 November of this year, this magazine exposed to mockery and attacked Josip Broz Tito and Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of Serbia.

Vojvodina LC Proposes Candidates for Party Posts

LD1611115689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1731 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Summary] Novi Sad, 15 Nov (TANJUG)—Today's session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee positively assessed electoral activities in the Vojvodina LC so far.

"At the proposal of Dusko Mirkov, Dr Radoman Bozovic was struck off the list of four proposed candidates for the post of member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium at the provincial committee session. The reason for this, as explained by Mirkov, is that the Vojvodina Socialist Alliance of Working People Presidium yesterday proposed Radoman Bozovic as one of two candidates for the post of president of the Vojvodina Executive Council.

The Provincial Committee adopted the proposal that, instead of Radoman Bozovic, Gavrilo Cupic, farmer from Irig in Srem, is registered as a candidate for the post of a member of the top Yugoslav party leadership."

Vojvodina Peasant Alliance Set Up in Novi Sad

AU1411184089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Representatives of farmers from all Vojvodina communes set up the Peasants Alliance of the province in Novi Sad today. Nada Zamurovic reports from the founding meeting:

Making use of their constitutionally guaranteed right to conduct organized activities, Vojvodina farmers set up their own organization today, the Vojvodina Peasants Alliance [Savez Seljaka Vojvodine]. Carrying this out is chiefly due to the activities of the Vojvodina Socialist Youth Federation, either through taking the initiative or through supporting such an initiative, and to the Provincial Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Vojvodina, which took the initiative under its wing and carried it out.

In the meantime, communal peasants alliances were set up, first in Kanjiza and Subotica, followed by [two place names indistinct] and Kovin in Backa, in Kikinda and Alibunar in Banat, and in Indjija and Sremska Mitrovica in Srem.

In a public discussion held about the statute of the Vojvodina Peasants Alliance, the undivided opinion was expressed that the Peasants Alliance should be set up at the level of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, which is expected to happen. It is believed that a peasant organization will also be needed at the Yugoslav level, but it will be necessary to create the conditions for this first.

Let us quote a small portion of the statute which was adopted today: The Vojvodina Peasant Alliance will strive for a completely free market for its products in Yugoslavia and abroad, and the prices under the influence of the market should be set in the same way that the prices of industrial products are formed.

Skopje LC City Committee Secretary Elected

LD1611115989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1536 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Summary] Skopje, 15 Nov (TANJUG)—At its session today the Skopje LC City Committee elected Petre Andreevski as new secretary of the committee.

1 Dec National Day Seen as 'Unacceptable'

AU1511163989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Nov 89 p 4

[TANJUG report: "An Unacceptable Proposal"]

[Text] Skopje, 6 Nov—The Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia considers the proposal to proclaim 1 December a national day to be unacceptable.

It is pointed out in the stances adopted today that the unification into a state in 1918 and the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes aggravated the unsolved interethnic situation even more. The national identity of the Macedonian people was denied and its denationalization and assimilation carried out.

Because of all this, it is pointed out in the stances of the Presidium of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, the proposal that 1 December should be proclaimed a national day should not be discussed in the SFRY Assembly.

Democratic Alliance Calls for Independent Unions

AU1511092989 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 7 Nov 89 p 5

["Invitation to Form Independent Trade Unions"]

[Text] The Slovene Democratic Alliance notes:

that workers and employees are not to be blamed for the present situation, but that the blame belongs to the politocracy that is hiding behind them and uses them as a shield;
that the catastrophic situation would not have arisen in the economy and in the standard of living if an open

democratic atmosphere had prevailed, in which warnings and views differing from official ones would have been respected;

that the workers are the most exposed and unprotected social stratum at present, like the peasants, because the restructuring of the economy is being carried out and the bankrupt enterprises are being bailed out on the backs of the workers, without their being asked;

that the official trade unions always fail at critical moments, because they are linked with the authorities and the management of enterprises.

Therefore, the Slovene Democratic Alliance calls on workers and employees to begin forming workers unions, independent of the authorities and all political parties. We recommend that:

The independent trade unions, regardless of the authorities or the management, should strive—for instance when annual collective agreements are negotiated—for the best possible and secure working conditions, for personal incomes that enable a decent life, for education, vacations, and all other benefits that the management must ensure; in short, for a social workers program such as the states of Europe are negotiating for 1992.

On the basis of their legal obligations, the independent trade unions should negotiate with the management of enterprises and institutions about rescue measures, liquidation conditions, and technological redundancies. In the case of unemployment, they should resolutely demand consistent systemic social security measures, including the necessary retraining or training for skills demanded by new technology.

The independent trade unions should prevent all the political parties from being active in enterprises, and the trade unions should preserve their independence from the management, for this is the only way to disclaim responsibility for failed business moves or for poor and irresponsible management.

They should represent only the interests of workers and employees. Therefore, they must be independent of any political party and they must be neutral in their world views. Only in this way will they not split and thus weaken the power and solidarity of the workers, and they will increase their negotiating power.

They should strive to have the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia adopt a law making the trade unions obligatory parties in liquidation proceedings, in discussions about technological redundancies and dismissals of workers, and in the negotiation of collective agreements in which the employers would be obliged to acquaint the trade unions with true economic analyses of the enterprise situation and profit forecasts, which is the basis for the distribution of personal incomes.

[Signed] Dr Hubert Pozarnik,

Slovene Democratic Alliance.

Markovic Calls for 'Struggle Against Monopolies'

AU1611125289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28-29 Oct 89 p 11

[Dj. Pilcevic report: "Monopolies Pull Us Into Poverty"]

[Excerpts] Titovo Uzice, 27 Oct—The second Yugoslav inventors congress began today in Titovo Uzice in the presence of more than 600 delegates, inventors, researchers, scientists, and guests from the whole of Yugoslavia.

The congress is being attended by Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, Dr Dragutin Zelenovic, member of the SFRY Presidency, Jusuf Zejnulah, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and delegations from the Trade Union Council of Yugoslavia, the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, the veterans federation of Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav People's Army, the Socialist Youth Federation of Yugoslavia, the chambers of economy of Yugoslavia and all the republics and provinces, the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and participants in the first congress headed by Joze Jan. The introductory speech on some aspects of embarking on the road to an innovative society was given by Milan Pavic, president of the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy. [passage omitted]

The participants were then addressed by Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council. Markovic recalled that 33 years ago when the first inventors congress was held in Ljubljana, it was at a time when Yugoslavia was ridding itself of Stalinist ideology and Stalinist politics, when it was ridding itself of everything that impeded people and prevented thinking and freedoms, and when Yugoslavia found the strength to look for new inventive solutions by ridding itself of all this. However, according to Markovic, there was not enough strength to persist in society's reforms and we fell into the crisis in which we now find ourselves even today.

Speaking about reforms and the tasks facing Yugoslav society, Ante Markovic stressed among other things:

We will not be able to develop successfully as a society according to a new concept and in a new system if we do not open ourselves up persistently, consistently, and continually to the world, if we do not become increasingly present in the world and its trends, and if the world does not become increasingly present among us and in our trends.

Unfortunately, there are many monopolies in our country. In opening up to the world, we must struggle against all monopolies—in production and in the economy—and monopolies on knowledge, ideas, and, in the extreme case, on poverty, because all these monopolies only pull us into poverty. In this respect, we should not be afraid of any new knowledge, technology, and the new experience that we must acquire. Fortunately, knowledge and technology know no boundaries. They depend only

on whether the systems that are delineated by borders are capable of understanding this and of using them in their own interests.

Stating that we are now coming to the most difficult period in which all ideas and projects should be turned into practice, Ante Markovic stressed that these great changes cannot be implemented without the participation of all the creative innovative forces in our society and without them being set free, and the new system frees and motivates them. According to him, differentiation is needed, without which there is no motivation for capable people to take risks and bear responsibility, for them to have the right to more recognition, primarily material recognition, for innovation to come to the fore, and for knowledge and ability to be crucial in decision-making and not ignorance and inability.

Let us not be afraid of wealth because we want to build a wealthy society and let us not be afraid of freedoms but the lack of freedoms. Much effort and persistence and many sleepless nights will be needed for us to enter a new system and to overcome all difficulties, and this is the only chance for us to create a rich and free life in which the new system, based on the initiative of the self-management of our people, has a chance to prove itself capable of deciding the fate of our development. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Liberation From Mistakes

It is now necessary to liberate the forces of this society in the quest for new solutions, new exits, and new roads, said Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council. After the long crises and hesitation we have finally decided that we must get rid of the ideologies and mistakes to which we have been chained for many years and that the solution does not lie in making corrections to the system, but we must change the system itself and its substance and structure and we must build a system which will develop economic efficiency, as well as political democracy because without both of these a modern society cannot develop.

Serb Youth's NON To Appear With 4-Day Delay

LD1411223789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1546 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Nov (TANJUG)—Despite its dispute with the POLITIKA printing works, NON, the magazine of the Federation of Serb Socialist Youth, will appear, but there will be a 4-day delay. The magazine will be in the kiosks unchanged the day after tomorrow. What will be new will be the printing works. Instead of being printed by POLITIKA with whom the NON editorial board had a contract for printing the periodical, the latest issue of the magazine will be printed by Belgrade GLAS.

It has been learnt unofficially that the immediate cause of the dispute was a text in which POLITIKA was mentioned in an unfavorable context. However, there have been such texts before.